

The Social Studies

VOLUME XXXIV, NUMBER 4

APRIL, 1943

Democracy and the Social Studies

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There is a growing tendency to attribute the rise of fascism, nazism, and communism to shifts in intellectual and moral values.¹ Even so Marxist a writer as Daniel Guérin considers that "... fascism presents itself, above all, and even before trying to define itself, as a religion." The economic interpretation of fascism as the last stand of falling capitalism seems to be in disrepute.² American business leaders have sensed the fact that a fascist dictatorship would allow them few profits and less freedom.

If it is true that the totalitarian movement in Europe since 1917 has arisen to fill a spiritual vacuum caused by loss of belief in the Christian and classical tradition, and if it is true that its causes are intellectual and spiritual as well as economic, then it is

important for American teachers (especially of the social studies) to realize anew that their ideas do wield an influence. They should ask whether that influence is toward a totalitarian or a liberal-democratic system. They should re-examine what the elements and meaning of the Christian and classical tradition are. They should ask what contemporary ideas seem to strengthen or to undermine that tradition. To this end the present paper offers a list of five current ideas not at all consistent with the Christian and classical tradition. It is not intended in the limits of this discussion to analyze the controlling ideas that have come from the Hebraic-Christian, Greco-Roman, Renaissance and Enlightenment traditions.

Denial that ideas and value can mould action and events cuts the nerve of the Christian idea of the ultimate triumph of the Kingdom of God and of the liberal contention that true ideas will prevail, as Justice Brandeis said, "in the competition of the market." Since liberals based their plea for freedom of speech and thought on the duty of finding and declaring truth (as in the famous Zenger case, 1734), cynical doubt about truth's importance and reality weakens the will to respect and defend freedom of thought and speech. There is little encouragement for liberals in the current belief that natural instincts or material influences rule human conduct, or in the also current belief that ideologies are invented to

¹ Lewis Mumford, *Faith for Living* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1940); Waldo Frank, *Chart for Rough Water* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran Company, 1940); Wallace Deuel, *People Under Hitler* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1942); Peter F. Drucker, *The End of Economic Man* (New York: The John Day Company, 1939); John U. Nef, *The United States and Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942); Adam Alles, "Forces That Produced Hitler," *The Christian Century*, LVII (November 6, 1940), 1370-1373; A. J. Toynbee, "The Menace of the New Paganism," *The Christian Century*, LIV (March 10, 1937), 315-316.

² See Alfred Cobban, *Dictatorship* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939), for a discussion of ways in which democracy and the socialist movement sowed the seeds of totalitarian dictatorship.

justify existing interests, institutions and desires.³ Students of the social studies should take to heart Charles A. Ellwood's message that civilization is primarily shaped by patterns of culture, rather than by natural forces and instincts. By cultural and spiritual traditions men escape from bondage to heredity and instinct; by both individual and institutionalized intelligence and faith men may learn or unlearn.

The very fact that civilized human behaviour represents a learned adjustment throws a considerable burden of proof on those who claim customs and institutions cannot be changed. Those who claim, for example, that war and military systems cannot be abandoned by civilized nations through the change of their culture and social traditions have the burden of showing that there are forces in nature and in human nature independent of all culture and learned social adjustment that cannot be controlled, and that inevitably produce wars.⁴

The history of the democratic idea in America shows that there has always been within that faith a will to bring existing conditions into closer correspondence with the normative principles of liberty and equality, the diffusion of knowledge, and the freedom of the state from domination by the military. It is not democratic to identify the existing order with democracy. It should not be forgotten that:

Democracy, like Christianity, is an ideal or standard of life. The maxims of democracy do not describe what actually takes place, but define a hope and a goal of effort.⁵

Few spectacles of our time have been stranger than that of educators, dispensing ideas, including those of education for democracy, denying the power of ideas and ideals to shape events and conduct. If democracy is a moral imperative rather than merely a particular type of governmental mechanism, education for democracy which impedes moral decision and resolution to act is not effective education for democracy. Stewart G. Cole links moral apathy with the social studies when he writes:

... the social studies should uncover both personal and cultural purposes for the student. It is doubtful if the teacher in history, anthropology, sociology, economics, or political science has fulfilled his educational trust until

he has brought the individual into direct relation with the problematic conditions of human society and thus made it necessary for him to make moral decisions with reference to such issues as block the wheels of social progress.⁶

Two conceptions which have had much to do with increasing moral neutrality and unwillingness to advocate any cause among social science teachers are the desire to be scientific and acceptance of economic determinism as the true interpretation of history. There is some reason to think that a reaction against these conceptions is taking place at present.⁷

Perhaps Hoffman is right in his contention that the liberal has been even more under the sway of the economic interpretation than the Marxist:

It is not the Marxist but the Liberal mind that produced the numerous books of modern history in which the existence of a spiritual tradition in western civilization is almost totally ignored. After all, men who affirm a strict doctrine, who reprove and punish heretics, who make the fight upon bourgeois mentality and the Christian religion a supreme issue of the day, will hardly be the ones to miss the importance of spiritual forces in history.⁸

Difficult as it may be, some liberals are coming to see the incompatibility between their social faith and a materialistic interpretation of history. In Lewis Mumford's *Faith for Living* one can behold the travail of spirit this issue can produce. This book is, in a sense, a tract on the subject of how liberals and rationalists have misinterpreted history. There are other thinkers who see in the social sciences an utter sterility on the problem of what are true and right value judgments. Among these writers can be mentioned Robert S. Lynd, John U. Nef, Charles A. Ellwood, and Stewart G. Cole. Professor Ellwood, for example, has deplored the fact that the social sciences are not intellectually prepared either to refute or to corroborate "the social safety and sanity of the Christian way of life."⁹ Stewart G. Cole concludes that much of the material presented in the social sciences is not:

... meaningful for education for democracy. They are as neutral to the political and social values that Americans have learned to cherish

³ Walter Lippmann, "Education vs. Western Civilization," *The American Scholar*, X (March 1941), 184-193. In this article a celebrated psychologist is quoted as follows: "The instinctive impulses determine the end of all activities ... and the most highly developed mind is but the instrument by which those impulses seek their satisfaction." That kind of thinking may have been in the mind of N. P. Pegis when he said: "I believe that a full and explicit irrationalism has captured the minds of American educators."

⁴ Charles A. Ellwood, *The Story of Social Philosophy* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1938), p. 563.

⁵ Ralph B. Perry, *Shall Not Perish from the Earth* (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1940), p. 130.

⁶ Stewart G. Cole, *Liberal Education in a Democracy* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940), p. 200.

⁷ Karl Federn, *The Materialist Conception of History* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1939); José Ortega y Gasset, *Invertebrate Spain* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1937); William E. Hocking, *The Lasting Elements of Individualism* (New Haven: The Yale University Press, 1937); Carlton J. H. Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism, 1871-1900* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941). Hayes' book has a non-economic interpretation of imperialism.

⁸ Ross J. S. Hoffman, *Tradition and Progress* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1938), p. 49.

⁹ Charles A. Ellwood, *The World's Need of Christ* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1940), p. 211.

as are the natural sciences. Most of the material could as well be taught in colleges subject to an absolute monarchical government or perhaps a dictatorship. Students subject to four years of such schooling may graduate better qualified to exploit their fellows and indifferent to the building of a better social order.¹⁰

Teachers should ponder well how to answer the argument that social understanding can be used to promote or to obstruct reform. Reactionaries know social processes, perhaps often better than well-intentioned persons. Hitler boasted in *Mein Kampf* of what could be done with knowledge of mass psychology and propaganda. The ends or purposes controlling the use of social knowledge are the decisive factors. Yet it is on this matter of value judgments that uncertainty or careless thinking has taken place. As Lewis Mumford puts it, during the era of "mechanism, militarism, and mammonism" now drawing to a close:

Western Civilization became mechanically unified and socially disintegrated; it multiplied the physical means of living and lost sight of the purposes and ends that make those means significant.¹¹

But the formulation of reasonable and just ends for the guidance of individual and group action seems peculiarly difficult for our epoch. This may be the case because our epoch is saturated with naturalistic outlooks upon ethics, religion, government, education, and philosophy.

A second pattern of thought, then, in the minds of many American teachers which causes them to renounce the advocacy of Christian and democratic values is naturalism. In his *The Course of American Democratic Thought*,¹² a good companion volume for Vernon Parrington's *Main Currents of American Thought*, Ralph H. Gabriel assigns naturalism an important place as a philosophical conception undermining American democratic faith. This philosophy has such an effect because it denies the existence of God, the moral law, and the free and valuable individual. Professor Gabriel goes so far as to state:

Perhaps some day the most important conflict of the twentieth century in the United States will be considered to be the contest between humanism and naturalism.

Theodore M. Greene makes a somewhat similar judgment:

The first and perhaps the most fundamental cause of our malady is the scientific naturalism

of our age. This naturalism rests on the dogma that science is the only road to truth.¹³

Naturalism directly weakens the democratic faith when it leads to the denial of man's power of choice, his rationality, his creativeness, the equal worth of persons, and belief in natural rights. Naturalism conflicts with Christianity (though there are various subtle naturalistic philosophies of religion) by taking the position that man is imprisoned in an inexorable order of law from which there is no deliverance by divine assistance through revelation. It lies beyond the scope of these remarks to describe the content and various forms of naturalistic philosophy. It is pertinent, however, to observe that Professor Gabriel is probably misstating the problem when he asserts that naturalistic philosophy is the essence of science, for many scientists distrust philosophical speculation. As William E. Hocking has pointed out, it is naturalism which embraces the sciences. Upon scientific data various philosophical interpretations may be placed. An example of this is the varying responses of Haeckel, Spencer and Bergson to Darwinian theories.

Scientists who do indulge in philosophical speculation have frequently adopted other philosophies than naturalism. Many scientists have not at all believed that scientific method was the only road to truth. Many have been profoundly religious. Henry Drummond, for example, was a geologist who believed that the evolutionary outlooks of the late nineteenth century improved religion by giving men a nobler conception of Deity. It should be obviously unreasonable to accept any particular brand of philosophy without first examining what philosophy is, what the types of philosophy are, what science is, and what are the relations of philosophy to other disciplines—to science, religion, and the social sciences.¹⁴ At present there is a movement to free the social scientists from the idea that they should model their procedures on natural science.¹⁵ This debate is, of course, a segment of the larger question of the scope of scientific method and of the relation of science to philosophy and religion.¹⁶

¹⁰ Theodore M. Greene, "In Praise of Reflective Commitment," *The American Scholar*, XI (Winter Number, 1941-42), 59-68.

¹¹ William E. Hocking, *Types of Philosophy* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939); R. B. Cattell (Ed.), *Human Affairs* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1937). In this volume there is a suggestive essay by William McDougall: "Philosophy and the Social Sciences," in which McDougall shows how individuals seeking guidance to conduct want to learn not merely how an idea originates, which the psychologist offers, but also whether an idea is valid or not, which epistemology does try to decide.

¹² See the files of the *Journal of Social Philosophy* from its founding in 1935 to its last number (for the duration at least) of July, 1942.

¹³ Norman Foerster, *The American State University, its Relation to Democracy* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, University

¹⁴ Stewart G. Cole, *Liberal Education in a Democracy*, p. 163.

¹⁵ Leland Stanford Junior University, *The University and the Future of America* (Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1941), p. 110.

¹⁶ Ralph H. Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1940).

There is a third way of living and thinking, less speculative than naturalism and probably more influential, which is in some ways not helpful to maintaining Christian or democratic values in contemporary America. It is the pattern which, following R. S. Lynd, may be called that of competitive, pecuniary individualism. It is what P. A. Sorokin calls a "sensate culture" placing its appreciations in self-centered enjoyments of the body, goods and wealth. It is what James McBride Dabbs called the substitution of freedom for gain for freedom under God.¹⁷ It is the pattern that led some Nebraska high school seniors to agree that:

Learning how to compete successfully is more important than learning how to live cooperatively.¹⁸

Americans are to some extent aware that they live in such a cultural pattern, but despite their vaunted pragmatic tendencies are not given to much reflection on what the results of such a system are likely to be. The social sciences could assist the democratic and humanistic tradition by studying what its results are likely to be. Some such studies have already been made. In 1939, a *Memorandum* of the National Policy Association concluded that identifying democracy with freedom to gain more profits, bathtubs, refrigerators, and automobiles had:

... cleared the way for promoters of current schemes of synthetic economic bliss that can only be pursued at the price of democracy's surrender of its own existence.

The student of American history is aware that economic individualism resulted in the strong often pushing the weak to the wall. The small business men, artisans and free farmers of other days have become the wage-earners, managers, sharecroppers and tenant farmers of today. By competition competitive economy evolved into an economy of large corporations and much monopoly. The most serious political result of such a system, according to P. A. Sorokin and C. A. Ellwood, is that conflicts between individuals, nations and classes are increased by hedonistic habits, for material values do not provide ideal purposes able to integrate men and achieve cooperation for the common good. War can be seen as an outgrowth of the existence of many frustrated persons and of a yearning for unity with others, obtainable only in war but in no other way in a

society based on competitive individualism. E. H. Carr can write that war:

... has become the most powerful known instrument of social solidarity. In the advanced countries of the world, war or preparation for war is today the only moral purpose with the recognized capacity of inspiring the degree of self-sacrifice in all classes of the community necessary to keep the political and economic machine in motion.¹⁹

More than ever William James' "moral substitute for war" is needed! The competitive scramble, with concentration on material advance to the exclusion of sharing ideal values reduces the birth rate, defeats prosperity in the long run, engenders social revolution, mental derangements and international conflict. All these because:

Our civilization is one in which people, as a usual thing, do not know one another beyond superficial levels. Consequently we are constrained, concealed, unconfessed, at best suave and smooth and efficient, with an oily ease in getting about and dealing with people. But the depths of personality are never exposed. Human personality cannot grow and flower in such dark crypts of social concealment. It must have the sunshine and rain of understanding and sympathy.²⁰

Partly, perhaps, as a compensation for strenuous individualism, the feeling of nationalism has been growing in America as in Europe and Asia. When idolatrous worship is given to the nation and the power and might of the nation are seen as a source of economic and spiritual satisfaction and security, civil liberties and democratic processes are easily forgotten. Professor Gabriel finds that the one element in the democratic faith of America that has increased rather than declined in the twentieth century is the belief in the mission of America, the worship of its own institutions and destiny. The sentiment of Governor Winthrop, carved on his Boston monument, has not wholly left American hearts:

For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all peoples are upon us, so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world.²¹

Woodrow Wilson, son of a Presbyterian minister, can scarcely be understood without reference to this Puritan background. But our present problem is not

of North Carolina Press, 1937), pp. 111 ff.; Mortimer J. Adler, *What Man Has Made of Man. A Study of the Consequences of Platonism and Positivism in Psychology* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1938).

¹⁷ James McBride Dabbs, "The Totalitarian Drift," *The Christian Century*, LVIII (May 14, June 4, 1941), 655-657, 749-750.

¹⁸ Paul W. Harnly, "Attitudes of High School Seniors Toward Education," *School Review*, XLVII (September 1939), 501-509.

¹⁹ Edward H. Carr, *The Conditions of Peace* (Toronto: Macmillan and Company, 1942), p. 119.

²⁰ Walter M. Horton and Henry Nelson Wieman, *The Growth of Religion* (Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company, 1938), p. 309.

²¹ I owe this reference to Dr. R. R. Palmer, of Princeton University.

that of the sources of American national feeling. Our problem is whether nationalism constitutes a fourth pattern of thought inconsistent with Christian and democratic traditions. This may seem an audacious question to ask since it is well known that in both the Catholic and Protestant traditions it has been found possible to make patriotism a duty. Yet it is possible that when men lose their belief in the universalist and cosmopolitan principles stemming from both Christianity and the Age of the Enlightenment, they turn for security to the nation. Belfort Bax is not the only observer who has felt that the place formerly occupied by Christian sentiment and aspiration in the mind of the average man has been usurped by patriotism. Giving loyalty to the nation as the highest value has made it difficult for the nations to cooperate just at a time when technological progress brings nations closer together in a physical sense. It is possible to see Woodrow Wilson in 1919 as a leader behind his times instead of ahead of his times when he insisted on the right of national self-determination. Like the rights of individuals within nations, the right of nations to self-determination should be seen as a right exercised in a frame of obligation.²² This view, however, is difficult for men to hold when they have lost the sense of the unity of mankind. Christian Gauss emphasizes how little sense of unity or interdependence among nations there is when he writes that since 1776:

The most important single phenomenon in the subsequent history of our Western culture is the ever-increasing attempt to substitute the nation for mankind as the point of reference from which economic and political systems are to be judged.²³

Howard Mumford Jones has applied this problem to the social studies. He questions the wisdom of the current demand for more teaching of American history. He advocates thinking in terms of the human race, of both the Occident and the Orient. He urges a return to the eighteenth century concept of universal humanity. Global war demands global thinking.²⁴

A curious accompaniment to the assertion of national rights in recent generations has been the decreasing respect for the rights of persons within nations. The individual person, instead of being regarded as having inalienable rights rooted in Nature and God, comes to be regarded as a social creature, having no rights other than those society grants him. The seeds of the idea that social necessity may

be invoked to deny rights Hocking finds in both Karl Marx and John Stuart Mill.²⁵ The issue concerning both relations between nations and between states and their citizens is somewhat summed up in the story that when someone in his presence praised Stephen Decatur's toast "Our country, right or wrong," John Quincy Adams replied in his caustic way: "I disclaim all patriotism incompatible with the principles of eternal justice."

Today the "eternal justice" in which John Quincy Adams could believe seems to have little hold in an age which denies there are moral or social ideals valid in all times and which is more aware that all is flux than of the existence of permanent values. The fifth pattern of thought, therefore, which must be listed as contributing to the disintegration of the Christian, classical and democratic tradition is that of the historical relativity of values. There is considerable agreement among eminent commentators. R. B. Perry, for example, wrote that:

The canker at the heart of modern liberalism is its suspicion that its hallowed morality is only one prejudice among others.

In his study of nazi *weltanschauung* Aurel Kolnai showed that historical relativism was one of the central pillars of nazi amorality. Ernst Troeltsch wrestled with this problem. Christian Gauss has asserted that historical analysis, regarding ethical and social ideals as no more than facts of an epoch, has become "the most powerful dissolvent of those humanistic convictions which gave us the Spirit of 1776."

In conclusion, two tentative, constructive ideas concerning how to break the spell cast by these five patterns of thought upon workers in the social studies will be offered. First, more effort should be made to understand the Christian and humanistic tradition and its contributions; it is unreasonable to reject a great system of thought that has been the foundation of Western civilization without first winning the right to dissent. Ignoring is not refuting. The teacher of the social studies can find much help in Latourette's *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*.²⁶ He should ponder Walter Lippmann's statement that the Gospel:

... anchored the rights of men in the structure of the universe. It set these rights apart where they were beyond human interference. Thus the pretensions of despots became heretical. And since that revelation, though many despots have had the blessings of the clergy, no tyranny has possessed a clear title before the tribunal of the

²² Edward H. Carr, *The Conditions of Peace*, pp. 51-67.

²³ Christian Gauss, "Can We Educate for Democracy?" *The American Scholar*, XI (Summer Number, 1942), 359-373.

²⁴ Howard Mumford Jones, "Tribalism," *The Atlantic Monthly*, CLXX (October, 1942), 87-93.

²⁵ William E. Hocking, *The Lasting Elements of Individualism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937).

²⁶ Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (4 vols., New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937-1941).

human conscience, no slave has had to feel that the hope of freedom was forever foreclosed. For in the recognition that there is in each man a final essence—that is to say, an immortal soul—which only God can judge, a limit was set upon the dominion of men over men. . . . The inviolability of the human person was declared.²⁷

For the view, apparently still held by many, that the Middle Ages held back the advance of science a good introductory antidote can be found in the writings of Charles Singer or in William E. Hocking's article in the February, 1942, *Fortune*. Two recent histories of education, one by Edgar W. Knight, the other by Frederick Eby and Charles F. Arrowood, agree in affirming that Christianity has been the most powerful influence in the progress of western education for the nearly two millennia Christianity has existed.²⁸ A sympathetic, past-minded approach to history²⁹ will be necessary to understand and appreciate the religious and classical tradition of the West. The sufferings and disappointments of our time and the resulting decline of the idea of progress may dispose men to make the attempt to learn wisdom from past sages and saints for application to present conditions. Aldous Huxley reminds us that there is great similarity among the ideal ends of living proclaimed by the wisest in all civilizations. Criticisms have been written of the logical soundness of the doctrine of the historical relativity of values.³⁰ The old idea of progress, which regarded the past as "stupid and bad" is now criticized as fatal to a true understanding of history. To use the words of August Charles Krey:

It led . . . to an illusion of progress under whose influence everything in the present assumed all the virtues of natural selection. This conception automatically belittled the thoughts and achievements of men in the past. Under such an hypothesis, Jefferson, Hamilton, and Franklin could only be regarded as shoulder high, Virgil and Cicero as mere pygmies, Plato and Aristotle as even more microscopic, while

poor Homer was left floundering among the amoebae.³¹

All are familiar with the teacher or student who will say a high school freshman knows more today than Aristotle or Plato did.

A second reform within the thinking of social scientists which seems needed is to recognize the importance of philosophy and religion as formulators of the ends men ought to live by, or at least those which they ought not to live by. It will be necessary to face the question whether, as humanists teach, ethical and social ideals can support their own weight without metaphysical or supernatural sanctions. If Bergson is right, for example, states filled with nationalistic spirit cannot produce a brotherly unity within mankind; to achieve it requires the growth within the states of allegiance to what Arnold Toynbee calls "a Superhuman Whole."³² If Stewart G. Cole is right, a social objective such as democracy should be regarded as itself set within the larger frame of the values the universe by its very nature sustains. The question whether the universe is basically friendly to intelligence, justice, love and democracy needs to be asked first. Democracy cannot subsume such categories within itself. Democracy, made an end in itself, Cole regards as "dangerously homocentric," cutting off the creature from the Creator. How difficult it can be for agnostics and liberals of today to accept the existence of an order of eternal value to which man's intelligence must conform is illustrated by Carl L. Becker's recent essay. Professor Becker can separate the highest rational and humane values from dependence on democracy and on any social system, but he cannot place intelligence in a "cosmological temple."³³ The conclusion of the problem seems to be that if the social studies are to strengthen the democratic ideal, they must develop more understanding than they now show of the issues of ethics, philosophy, religion, theology, and philosophy of religion. A good starting point would be logic. More care in trying to define what democracy is would be sensible. It would also be courteous for social scientists to try to understand religious issues from the inside, for religious schools and leaders have had more interest in social studies than the social studies have shown in religious approaches to life and knowledge.³⁴

²⁷ Walter Lippmann, *The Good Society* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1938), p. 378.

²⁸ Frederick Eby and Charles F. Arrowood, *The History and Philosophy of Education, Ancient and Medieval* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1940); Edgar W. Knight, *Twenty Centuries of Education* (New York: Ginn and Company, 1940).

²⁹ Sherman B. Barnes, "Present-Minded or Past-Minded History?" *THE SOCIAL STUDIES*, XXXII (December, 1941), 340-343.

³⁰ Herbert Spiegelberg, *Antirelativismus, Kritik des relativismus und skeptizismus der werte und des sollens* (Zürich und Leipzig: M. Niehans, 1935).

³¹ Theodore M. Greene (Ed.), *The Meaning of the Humanities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938), p. 84.

³² Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, VI (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 12-14.

³³ Carl L. Becker, *New Liberties for Old* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 151.

³⁴ Rev. Vaughan Dabney, "The Place of Social Studies in Theological Education," *Education*, LX (February, 1940), 350-353.

Revised Historical Viewpoints

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THE BALKAN FEDERATION MOVEMENT, A NEGLECTED ASPECT¹

One problem of the forthcoming peace will be what to do with the Balkans. Shall they be left in status quo, or united in a federation? Will German, Russian or British policies dominate the settlement? What kind of internal governments will each support and what kind of a Balkan federation may either of the three support? Some light on the possible future trends may be gained from this article by Stavrianos.

He depicts a neglected aspect of the earlier Balkan federation movement from 1900 to 1931. It was chiefly one sponsored by the Balkan radical labor movement and the peasants. In the 1870s two socialists, Botev of Bulgaria, and Markovich of Serbia preached Balkan unity. Nothing much was done about the idea until 1910 when resolutions, adopted at the first Balkan Socialist Conference, championed Balkan unity among other purposes. At the 1911 conference these parties again urged democratization of their states and union, including Turkey, among the Balkan states. This was desired in order to secure "total development of culture and political independence." In October 1912, the International Socialist Bureau resolved that the solution of the Balkan problem lay in "progressive democratization and in close union of all the Balkan states, including Turkey."

The Balkan socialists opposed the first and second Balkan Wars as not conducive to any good or to a Balkan federation. In May 1914 the Serbian socialists had greatly popularized the ideal of a union of Serbia and Bulgaria. In both Serbia and Bulgaria the socialist parties in 1913 greatly increased their vote, but whether this was due to war weariness or their advocacy of federation it is not possible to state. The great war in 1914 divided the Balkan socialists along the same lines as throughout Europe. Some supported their governments and others opposed. The latter split into two groups: those who opposed international war but wished class war and those who opposed both kinds of war. In Greece most of the labor leaders supported the pro-ally stand of Venizelos. In Rumania and Serbia the socialists were less divided, denouncing the war as

imperialist and demanding federation of the free Balkan peoples.

In 1918, the socialist and peasant movements increased tremendously. The latter gaining most ground as it emphasized nationalism and the rights of self-determination more than social reform, while the former was split by the socialist-communist feud. The 1919 Lucerne Socialist Conference emphasized federation of the Balkans while the 1920 Balkan Communist Federation conference at Sofia emphasized the proletarian revolution.

The Bulgarian agrarian party under Stamboliiski had opposed the war as imperialistic. In 1918, he rallied the troops behind him and forced the abdication of Ferdinand, becoming prime minister in January 1919 under the former's son, Boris. In this year the communists won forty-seven seats in the legislature and the socialists thirty-nine out of 236, but Stamboliiski became complete master. In 1923, with the aid of allied troops he broke a railway strike. In a new election the communists won forty-eight seats while the socialists declined to nine.

At this time both the communists and the agrarians favoring a Balkan federation controlled 68 per cent of the votes in the legislature holding 161 seats out of 236. But the agrarians wanted a "green international" to oppose communism and reaction from the right. Stamboliiski had always worked for Balkan unity calling the Serbs "our brothers."

In Yugoslavia the communist party which in 1921 polled 200,000 votes and gained fifty-eight seats out of 490 was outlawed in 1923 by the Belgrade politicians who wished to centralize government in Yugoslavia and abolish all desires for a federation of autonomous states. Both communists and agrarians in Yugoslavia held the same views on politics and federation as the similar parties in Bulgaria. Radich, leader of the Croatian peasant party, strongly opposed the Belgrade dictatorship and favored a Balkan federation.

The movement received a set-back in June 1923 in Bulgaria when Stamboliiski was assassinated. For a brief time agrarians and communists cooperated forcibly against the bourgeois terror only to meet final defeat.

In 1924, the Macedonian elements which had formerly cooperated with the Bulgarian government joined the Communist International in publishing

¹L. S. Stavrianos, "The Balkan Federation, A Neglected Aspect," *American Historical Review*, XLVIII (October 1942), 30-51.

fortnightly *La Federation Balkanique* in all the Balkan languages and in French and German. It called upon the working masses to oppose the European and Balkan governments and their imperialism. One of the original sponsors, Aleksandrov, was shortly murdered followed by the death of the assassins. Both the Bulgarian government and the communists accused each other of the crimes.

However, this did not stop *La Federation Balkanique* which continued publication for eight more years denouncing Italian domination of Albania, and opposing the White Terror in Bulgaria and Alexander's dictatorship in Yugoslavia. It preached the need to overthrow prevailing governments and to substitute truly democratic regimes as the bases of federation. It addressed a questionnaire to the leading men of Europe asking if justice and peace were being fostered in the Balkans, if rights of ethnic minorities were respected and inquired as to their views on a Balkan federation. Questionnaires were sent to Radich, Nitti, Maxton, Lansbury, Bernstein, Ponsonby, Dumoulin, Forel, Einstein, Barbusse, Mann and others. All in reply condemned existing conditions and favored federation, but differed on how to attain it. The radicals favored social revolution first, while the moderate socialists and liberals favored education, the ballot and cooperation with the League of Nations to that end.

In Yugoslavia, King Alexander suppressed the federalist movement. Radich and his agrarians received seventy seats in the 1923 elections but refused to enter parliament. They reversed this policy in 1924. Later Radich was arrested for treason, the legislature (*Skupshtina*) was dissolved and new elections held. The Croatian peasant party maintained

its strength in the parliament. Radich refused a united front with the Communists but cooperated with Alexander. Radich agreed to recognize the dynasty and constitution of 1921. Members of his party then received government portfolios and in November 1925 Radich entered the cabinet as Minister of Education. However, he couldn't work with his colleagues in the coalition and it was dissolved. In 1928, during a legislative debate a government supporter killed Radich and another peasant representative and wounded some others. When the Croatian deputies withdrew and formed a rump parliament at Zagreb, Alexander, in January 1929, abrogated the constitution of 1921, dissolved all parties and established a personal dictatorship which remained in force until the German invasion.

Throughout all these years the Balkan federation movement had secured mass support among communists, socialists and agrarians, chiefly in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. All three wanted federation to realize their anti-war aims and socialist state, or peasant government opposed to dynasties, bureaucracies and trusts. The peasants feared the urban workers, while the communists looked down upon the socialists as compromisers and betrayers of the working class and scorned the peasants as impractical idealists seeking peasant utopias. The socialists saw federation coming through gradual rapprochement of existing regimes and considered the communists irresponsible extremists. The dissension of all three groups eliminated the possibility of federation from below. In 1930, and after, the liberal intellectuals took the lead hoping to attain their ends by education and governmental agreements.

An Experiment in American History

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Social studies teachers who are looking for new techniques of presentation would do well to keep four things in mind. First, the student must be interested to the point where he will accept his classroom experience as something he likes and would not care to miss. This will come when he enjoys the material that is being presented, believes in its worthwhileness, and is enthusiastic about the method of presentation to the point where his participation becomes a matter of his own personal interest and fun. It must be remembered that while some children may love learning for its own abstract sake, the vast majority of those who inhabit our school rooms are more interested in their bikes, their play groups, sports, and other things which are so much a part of themselves. And properly so, for they are, after

all, children. For that matter, how different are we adults? Except, possibly, for a few of the more academic among us we are surprisingly like the children we teach in our reactions, our likes, our dislikes, and our interests. Johnnie may be interested in his new bike, we in our new car; Johnnie in his game of ball, we in our game of golf; Johnnie in the scouts, we in our clubs. Things that come outside of this orbit of self interest come under the head of things-that-must-be-done, and are more or less distasteful, depending on how much resignation we have managed to gather to ourselves. And who would expect, or want, an adolescent to be resigned?

Thus it becomes our duty to make the things that we are teaching a part of the personal interest orbit of the children we are teaching. If we can make our

presentation by any chance a part of the play orbit of the child—get him to accept it as something he likes and wants to do, our results will be successful indeed. This includes, of course, both techniques and subject matter. If learning could become pleasure we would be mistaken as teachers if we did not do everything in our power to make it pleasure for at least the great majority of those in our classes. Thus, our first objective as social studies teachers is to make certain that our subject materials and our techniques of instruction are interesting to the child and accepted by him as a fun-part of his own interest orbit.

Second, the material presented must have some intrinsic worth of its own that has nothing to do with any notions of mental discipline or learning for learning's sake. Above all there must be nothing that is suggestive of busy work. We too often have been slaves of a printed syllabus or course of study. We teach a thing because it is in the text, or because it always has been taught, or because it is a so called "logical step." We would, and incidentally so would our pupils, profit more if we would stop and ask ourselves if the thing we are teaching is really significant in the sum total of the thing to be learned. We should ask if this bit of material has any significance or future use in the necessary cultural background of the child, or in his present or future life. Perhaps our greatest step forward as teachers will come when we realize that everything that has been taught or that is included in a course of study is not sacred. The second point, then, is selectivity of pertinent subject matter.

The third point is that the material taught must be related to what has been taught before and what is to come later in the course. The thinking here is not in terms of chronology, but in terms of subject and experience unity. Every unit, every day's work, should be a springboard into the next so that the subject becomes in the child's mind an organic whole, and not an unconnected march or series of unrelated facts, dates, topics, or units.

Fourth, and last, the work that the student does in learning and presenting the things we are teaching him should have a value apart from the mere process of learning social studies subject matter. His methods of presentation, his topics, reports, problems, committee reports, projects, or whatever he does must have some value to him for the skills they impart or make use of. Such skills should, of course, be in terms of his future and present experiences in life outside the classroom.

So far what has been said comes under the head of theory and has been said before in other places. But, like so much theory in education, it tends to leave the practicing teacher rather up a tree. Very fine, he may say, but how is all this to be accomplished?

There are of course no set answers to that ques-

tion. The best answer is found in experimentation. If each teacher would set down the things he wishes to accomplish and the manner in which he desires to undertake them, and would then set up an actual classroom experiment to see if such objectives might be attained, he would go far in attaining them. Much that would be tried would prove unsuccessful, there would be many discouragements, but gradually as individuals and as teachers we might be able to resolve many of our difficulties.

Such an experiment was tried in the writer's American history classes at the Lockport Senior High School. We were about to study the period of the Constitutional Convention. In setting up the work of the class it was decided to attempt to present the Convention in the light of the four criteria listed above. The hope was that certain techniques or practices might evolve which could be refined for future use, and, incidentally, to see to what degree those objectives might be approached in an actual classroom situation.

It was decided to have three different classes re-enact in their classrooms the Constitutional Convention as nearly as possible as it actually occurred in 1787. The libraries, both school and public, of Lockport were canvassed for all the books or pamphlets that might have a bearing on the Constitutional Convention, its times, and the people who took part in it. This included biographies, such as H. C. Lodge's *Alexander Hamilton* and general accounts and source materials such as J. M. Beck's *The Constitution of the United States*, M. Farrand's *The Fathers of the Constitution*, and A. B. Hart's *Source Book of American History*. The public library had over a hundred volumes not including reference works. The high school library had more than twenty-five volumes. Gaps were filled by the use of various textbooks and by sending to the New York State Library at Albany for a number of volumes unavailable in our city, including *Madison's Papers*.

The teacher explained carefully what we were trying to do, and tried to "sell" the idea to the class. For several days, under supervision and on their own, the pupils read widely from the various books, using as many as their reading abilities permitted. In class we discussed and read until the children had gained a considerable background of the people, the times, and the problems of the Critical Period. This was continued until it was felt that the class had the feel of the times.

The next step was to set down a list of the fifty-five delegates to the Constitutional Convention and to have each student pick one whom he would represent in the class meetings of the convention. Each student then started to gain as much information as possible about the personality, the point of view, and the home state of the individual he represented.

After it was felt that each member of the class had worked up to his ability, the convention was actually put on.

The teacher worked out a more or less tentative program for the convention proceedings to follow. A steering committee was appointed to keep the order of business flowing smoothly. The program of business as arranged included the major divisions of the convention discussion, and assigned definite parts to some of the more prominent delegates such as Dickinson, Randolph, Morris, Franklin, Pinckney, and Washington. The last named, of course, acted as the presiding officer. The program as given below was mimeographed and a copy was placed in each student's hands.

PROGRAM OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION (ORDER OF BUSINESS)

I. *General Discussions and Points of View.*

A. Points of view on how our government should be organized.

1. On the basis of an equal federal union.
 - a. Speech by Patterson.
2. On the basis of a unified national union.
 - a. Speeches by Mason and Randolph
3. General debate by the committee of the whole.

B. Points of view of the agricultural and commercial states.

1. Agrarian point of view.
 - a. Speeches by Blair and Butler.
2. Commercial point of view.
 - a. Speeches by Livingston and Morris.
3. General debate by the committee of the whole.

C. Points of view of the large and small states.

1. Speeches by Dickinson and Johnson for the small states.
2. Speeches by Randolph and Mifflin for the large states.
3. General debate by the committee of the whole.

D. Points of view on social equality.

1. Speech by Hamilton on the aristocratic point of view.
2. Speeches by Patterson and Martin on the democratic point of view.
3. General debate by the committee of the whole.

Adjournment. Round table of five, meeting in the Indian Queen Tav-

ern for dinner, discusses fellow convention members.

II. *Presentation of Plans and Compromises.*

A. Large vs. small states.

1. Patterson presents the New Jersey Plan for the small states.
2. Randolph presents the Virginia Plan for the large states.
3. Sherman presents the Connecticut Plan as a compromise.
4. Debate and vote by the committee of the whole.

B. Slave vs. non-slave states over representation.

1. Few presents the South's point of view.
2. Gorham presents the North's point of view.
3. Clymer speaks for the three fifths compromise.
4. Debate and vote by the committee of the whole.

C. The electoral college compromise.

1. Brearley speaks for election of president by governors.
2. Wilson speaks for direct election of president.
3. Williamson speaks for election of president by Congress.
4. Mifflin proposes a compromise measure.
5. Discussion and vote by the committee of the whole.

III. *Further Discussions.*

At this point there can be further speeches on topics such as restriction of the slave trade, taxation, tariffs, etc., if time or the inclination of the teacher or the class permits.

IV. *Speech Proposing Ratification by Nine Instead of Thirteen States.*

V. *Franklin's "Rising Sun" Speech.* Motion to adjourn.

While the pupils were working on their speeches a day was given over to parliamentary procedure and methods of conducting business in the convention. Formal parliamentary procedure was followed throughout the convention discussions.

The speeches, discussions, and debates undertaken by various members of the class were given in the manner, and with the probable content, that the students believed, through their researches, the men they represented would have given them. In no case was anything memorized or given in an artificial manner. Since few of the convention speeches are extant, the students had a good opportunity to dis-

play their ingenuity and the soundness of their research. This was particularly true in the unprepared debates and discussions that followed each speech in the committee of the whole.

For example, the pupil taking Hamilton was well aware that he represented a commercial state, the aristocratic point of view, and the financial interests. Randolph was well aware of his big state and plantation background. Franklin was aware of his position as sage and moderator of the convention. Thus the students studied these men, their points of view, the things they stood for and against, and constantly tried to place themselves in the character's position, even as a good actor tries to live the part he is playing. Here, of course, there was wide variation among individuals. Some rather poor students did a most excellent job and some did as little as possible. Average students did exceptionally well, and there was not a single case of a superior student whose enthusiasm and voluntary work was not outstanding even for that class of students. The boys and girls thought they were having fun and went at the work in that spirit.

The teacher during the convention meetings kept entirely in the background and allowed the chairman to conduct the entire convention proceedings. No one was compelled to recite; the whole atmosphere was that they were there as delegates and that they could take part or not as they saw fit.

When the convention was finally adjourned, one day was taken by the teacher to summarize the convention. Complete lists of student readings were turned in, and an objective quiz was administered.

Since an experiment is incomplete without at least some attempt at an objective listing of results, the following information should serve to form a basis for an evaluation of the experiment.

Three classes of unselected students were used and shall hereafter be referred to as Groups 1, 2, and 3. All of these classes met in the morning. Of the three groups, No. 1 was the superior in that there were more students of ability in that group. Group 3 contained the largest number of poor students. Group 2 occupied a position about midway between Groups 1 and 3. There were 22 students in Group 1, 35 in Group 2, and 24 in Group 3.

Day	Group	Percentage of Pupils Present Participating	Average No. of Contributions per Pupil Participating	Percentage of Participation on Basis of Excellence of Participation			
				I	II	III	IV
1st	1	48	3.3	30	40	12	18
	2	38	3.7	10	29	29	32
	3	47	4.1	14	20	24	42
2nd	1	64	4.3	13	14	44	29
	2	66	5.7	11	9	28	52
	3	67	4.0	6	5	30	59
3rd	1	73	2.6	35	26	22	17
	2	80	2.2	9	17	30	44
	3	76	2.5	5	12	40	43
4th	1	57	3.8	26	24	26	24
	2	58	2.8	16	30	20	34
	3	48	3.8	17	25	23	35
5th	1	80	5.1	20	26	38	16
	2	74	1.9	20	23	17	40
	3	51	2.5	21	24	21	34
6th	1	69	4.2	32	12	31	25
	2	72	3.0	26	24	18	32
	3	60	2.8	20	18	26	36

FIGURE I. ANALYSIS OF CLASS DISCUSSIONS

The pupils who were most uncomfortable under this technique in its early stages were a small group who had always been used to traditional procedures and were quite worried when they found out that the textbook was not going to be outlined page by page and the outline memorized. Children tend to be conservative, and this group did not like any radical change of procedure. Their major worry was what they were going to review when a test came. A little missionary work cleared up most of that situation, and when they found they could get as good marks as they had been accustomed to under other methods, they too were ready to cooperate.

Figure I is an analysis of the class discussions during the six days that the class met as the constitutional convention. For each one of the six days it shows the per cent of pupils present who participated. Participation is defined as a voluntary oral contribution to the class discussion. Figure I also indicates the average number of contributions per pupil participating. Finally, Figure I attempts to divide all participation into four separate groups on the basis of excellence of the contribution, and to indicate what per cent of the total of each day's participation occurred in each group.

Participation placed in I is either a well-prepared

speech or excellent and somewhat lengthy comments which were pertinent and of definite help in the progress of the discussion. II is for very good contributions, but of a lesser caliber than those in I. Group III is for good contributions, helpful to the discussion, and showing a good grasp of what was going on, but of shorter length than those in Group II. Group IV is reserved for short contributions or comments that could show a considerable improvement and which would be rated as low C or D in caliber.

The purpose of this participation analysis is to gain some idea of the activities of the pupils in any given day. The amount and quality of participation may give some idea of the interest and reaction of the class.

Where participation is concerned, the first day contained the smallest dispersion of contributions, less than half the class in each of the groups taking part. There was considerable improvement the second day, and the third day was best, with Group 2 which had started out most poorly having an 80 per cent distribution of voluntary participation. The average of voluntary participation in all three groups for the six days of the convention was 63 per cent.

It is interesting to note that the average number of contributions per day of each pupil who actually participated on that day in all groups was 3.5.

As to the quality of participation, Group I, the superior group, undoubtedly made the best showing. But it would be unfair to judge students comparatively in the case of their convention discussions and speeches. It must be remembered that an excellent contribution made by a superior student might represent much less work and thought on his part than the comparatively poor contribution of an average or below average student would represent on his part. After all, this business of education must be aimed at the development of the individual within his own capacities. The sooner we abandon the "sheep over the same hurdle" point of view of traditional education, the sooner we shall be prepared to make real progress.

Groups III and IV under quality of participation may deem unduly large, but it must be remembered that under those headings came many brief comments that were excellent in themselves and were a direct help to the convention proceedings, but were too brief to merit inclusion in Groups I or II.

Next to class participation comes a consideration of the amount and excellence of the outside preparation of the members of the class. During the work of the unit each pupil kept a reading chart upon which he listed the author, title, number of pages read, reason for reading, and one-sentence summary of each reading reference he used for the convention. A reference would be listed even though only a

quarter of a page was read from it. Figure II is an analysis of the number of pages outside the text read by each individual, and Figure III is the estimated worth of his reading program in terms of A, B, C, D, and E.

Number of Students	Number of Pages Read
16	1-25
10	26-50
7	51-75
10	76-100
5	101-125
2	126-150
2	151-175
4	176-200
17	201-300
2	301-400
5	401-500
3	Over 500

FIGURE II. NUMBER OF PAGES OUTSIDE TEXT READ BY EACH STUDENT

In estimating the worth of an outside reading program the number of pages read is a factor, but more important is the excellence of the material read, its appropriateness, and evidence on the part of the student that he can apply the information read in the class discussions.

Mark	Number of Students	Total Students
A+	3	14
A	7	
A-	4	
B+	6	27
B	8	
B-	13	
C+	7	25
C	14	
C-	4	
D	7	7
E	10	10

FIGURE III. ESTIMATED WORTH OF THE OUTSIDE READING PROGRAM

An examination of Figure III reveals that ten pupils had a reading program which was judged to be unsatisfactory, and seven pupils had a reading program which was definitely poor. Seventeen is perhaps a rather high figure to occur in the E-D categories when only eight-three cases are represented. The difficulty here was that in carrying out this experiment the teacher had no desire to coerce any student to do outside work if he did not wish to do so. It would have been possible to have been definitely assured that the seventeen did have satisfactory reading programs, and in the case of the less able it would perhaps have added to the success of the convention meetings. On the other hand, outside reading should be done for pleasure so that it may have a carry over effect after school is over. Coercion to achieve a temporary result may sometimes have unfortunate long term effects, and that is particularly true in the case of collateral reading. Later in the

semester certain remedial measures could be taken in the case of the seventeen reluctant readers.

At the conclusion of the unit the following objective short answer test was administered.

TEST—CRITICAL PERIOD AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

I. Match

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------|
| — Virginia Plan | 1. Franklin |
| — President of Convention | 2. Martin |
| — New Jersey Plan | 3. Bedford |
| — Great Compromise | 4. Randolph |
| — Sage of Convention | 5. Washington |
| — Aristocratic view | 6. Dickinson |
| — Delaware | 7. Sherman |
| — Unofficial secretary | 8. Jay |
| — Democratic view | 9. Patterson |
| — In France | 10. Hamilton |
| | 11. Madison |
| | 12. Jefferson |
| | 13. Carroll |

II. True or False.

1. The Constitution was a compromise document.
2. In providing for the ratification of the Constitution by three-fourths of the states, the provision of the Articles of Confederation, calling for modification by unanimous votes, was violated.
3. The campaign for the ratification of the Constitution was opposed by bankers, debtors, and farmers.
4. Merchants, bankers, and property owners were generally in favor of adopting the new Constitution.
5. The Bill of Rights was adopted after the Constitution was ratified.
6. No difficulty was involved in the campaigns for the ratification of the Constitution because the nation was quick to see its beneficent and wise provisions.
7. The northern states were very much opposed to slavery on religious grounds.
8. The federal judiciary established under the Articles of Confederation was one of its few good points.
9. The reason advanced for an export tariff was that it would provide protection for home industries.
10. The Constitution was drawn up at the Annapolis Convention.

III. Multiple Choice.

1. One of the chief weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation was that: (a) an amendment required a two thirds vote; (b) Congress could not request funds; (c) Congress was not given control over interstate commerce.

2. The Constitutional Convention was result of: (a) the Albany Plan of Union; (b) Annapolis Convention; (c) Connecticut Plan.
3. One of the following was a writer of *The Federalist*: (a) Hamilton; (b) Dickinson; (c) Morris.
4. The Great Compromise is found in the following plan: (a) Virginia Plan; (b) Connecticut Plan; (c) Patterson Plan; (d) New Jersey Plan.
5. One of the following opposed the federal view of government: (a) Randolph; (b) Mason; (c) Patterson.
6. One of the following advocated the interests of the small states: (a) Wilson; (b) Dickinson; (c) Randolph.
7. The tavern frequently used by members of the convention was the: (a) Republic's Pride; (b) Indian Chief; (c) Philadelphia Inn; (d) Indian Queen.
8. One of the following advocated direct election of the President by the people: (a) Randolph; (b) Wilson; (c) Sherman.
9. The Convention met in: (a) New York City; (b) Boston; (c) Philadelphia; (d) Baltimore; (e) Annapolis.
10. A state not represented at the Convention was: (a) North Carolina; (b) Georgia; (c) Rhode Island; (d) New Hampshire; (e) New York.

IV. Fill-ins.

- 1-2. There were three major bases of conflict among the states at the Convention. One was large *vs.* small states. What were the other two? _____.
3. The Virginia Plan was presented by _____.
4. The New Jersey Plan was presented by _____.
5. The Connecticut Plan was presented by _____.
6. A man who took a prominent part in the Convention for the commercial and banking communities was _____.
7. The "Rising Sun" speech was made by _____.
- 8-9. Two party groups appeared when the Constitution was being discussed. They were _____ and _____.
10. The Virginia Plan provided for how many houses? _____.
11. Selected upon what basis? _____.
12. The New Jersey Plan provided for how many houses? _____.
13. Selected upon what basis? _____.
14. The Connecticut Plan provided for how many houses? _____.
15. Selected upon what basis? _____.
16. What percentage of Negroes were counted in deciding how many representatives a state might have? _____.
17. Was there any question during the Convention discussion of allowing slaves to vote? _____.

18. What was decided upon in regard to exports? _____.
19. What was decided in regard to importation of slaves? _____.
20. What per cent of the slaves were to be counted for representation? _____.
21. What does the federal view of government advocate? _____.
22. What does the national view of government advocate? _____.
- 23-27. Five reasons why the government under the Articles of Confederation was weak. _____.
28. What type of men attended the Convention? —.
- 29-31. Three arguments against ratification of the Constitution. _____.
- 32-35. Four arguments for ratification of the Constitution. _____.
36. In what year was the Constitutional Convention called? _____.
37. In what year did the new government start? —.

A much superior type test would have been one in which there was more scope for expression of opinion and interpretation. Such a test would contain questions like the following: In your opinion what was the most important problem facing the Constitutional Convention? Why? How was the problem solved by the Convention? Do you believe that such a solution promoted democracy? What would have been your solution?

However, the test as given was more or less memoriter, but criticism of activity programs is often aimed at the fact that the pupils are apt to learn a minimum of facts. Perhaps such a criticism is more of a compliment than a reproof, but, as it happens, in a well taught activity program the pupils pick up (to some degree incidentally) as many or more so-called essential facts than they learn under the more traditional procedures. And what is more important they remember the facts longer and apply them more efficiently.

The results of the test are given in Figure IV.

Excellent opportunities for correlation with Eng-

Scores	<i>f</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>fd</i>	<i>fd²</i>
66-70	1	3	3	9
61-65	10	2	20	400
56-60	16	1	16	256
51-55	25	0	0	0
46-50	12	-1	-12	144
41-45	7	-2	-14	196
36-40	7	-3	-21	441
31-35	5	-4	-20	400
26-30	1	-5	-5	25
N	83		-33	1871

Perfect Score	67	Median	51.3
Range	66-28	Standard Deviation	22
Mean	52.9	Q ₁	46.3
		Q ₃	57.7

FIGURE IV. DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES

lish are offered in this unit. Speech, public speaking, and debate classes may find opportunities to correlate their work with the speeches, debates, and parliamentary discussions taking place at the convention meetings. English teachers and librarians will find correlation in use of library techniques and collateral reading. The classes read all sorts of material—from biographies, through expository works and magazine articles to novels. Study and imitation of convention personalities should offer good opportunities for correlation with dramatic club groups. If some of the class discussions were written up they might well form the basis of a formal school assembly program.

Correlation with art and domestic science could be obtained in the decoration of the classroom as the convention hall. In Lockport one girl made an excellent silk replica of the thirteen star flag, and a number of posters and propaganda cartoons were drawn by various artistic members of the groups.

In summary, it is believed that this unit attained the four objectives set up at the beginning of the article to the following extent. First the work was conducted in an informal manner, the children went at it as they would at a game, and as the meetings progressed the pupils began to identify themselves with the man they represented to the point where they tended to forget that they were not actually taking part in the real Convention. Heated arguments developed which apparently were not always confined to the classroom. Judging by the amount and caliber of reading being done voluntarily they were making a real effort to make the convention authentic. The public librarian told the teacher that the high school pupils were using the library in unprecedented numbers and that they were using books that had seen but little circulation up to that time. Hence, the experiment seemed to be successful to the extent that the boys and girls were accepting a serious piece of academic learning as fun.

Second and third, it was believed that the discussions of the Constitutional Convention would give the children a "feel" as to what our Constitution is all about and a knowledge of some of the problems which prompted its writing. As citizens this would help them to understand and interpret it more wisely and judiciously. The convention technique tended to remove the incomprehensibility and dryness that children so often feel are attributes of the national Constitution. Then too, the Constitution as well as the points of view of the founding fathers can act as a springboard into the study of innumerable phases of American history. Thus we were not studying the Constitutional Convention as an isolated compartment of American history, but as a basis for approaching many problems to be encountered later in the course and as a preparation for citizenship.

Fourth, the convention technique gave ample practice in use of library skills, argumentation and debate, research skills, public speaking, organization of materials, parliamentary procedure, and reading.

All of these skills do have a value apart from social studies presentation and can well find use in other classes and in future life.

Juvenile Delinquency in Times of Social Change

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Since delinquency may lead to crime, which apparently it has (in view of the fact that most of the crime in this country is committed by those within the life span of twenty-four years), juvenile delinquency has become a most serious problem in American life. "A problem child" is a child with problems; and the question arises where does he get these problems? A crime is a transgression of law, enacted for the protection of society, by a person who can be legally held responsible; otherwise the transgression is held to be an act of delinquency if committed by an individual below the age of legal responsibility. Thus arises the problem of separate treatment of the two types of offenders against the order of society. But this immediately brings up the question of treatment when our major concern should be that of prevention. I believe that if juvenile delinquency could be cut down to a minimum, much crime could be eliminated.

The reduction of juvenile delinquency may not end crimes of fraud or rape which are committed by persons whose social maturation is delayed, but it would no doubt have much effect upon many other crimes. Therefore it becomes much more important to find ways to prevent delinquency. This does not mean that its treatment is not important. We are confronted with the malignant condition of delinquency and something must be done for the delinquents we already have. At the same time, if something is not done to direct our changing society into the proper channels, we will continue to produce more juvenile delinquents. This does not mean that the new crop will spring from contamination with the older children. One social worker said that if we could eliminate all delinquents and criminals, within one generation we would again fill our reformatories and prisons. This is certainly an indictment against society and would seem to tend to localize the real difficulty. Society should be so constituted as to induce the proper social interactions of all its members. What I mean by "proper" in

determining the conduct of people is set by law and convention which should not be too far away from the mores of society.

Juvenile delinquency in the beginning is not necessarily crime, but it might well be. Pestalozzi said that education should begin at the cradle but our concern for the welfare of the child should really begin at conception. Every child has the right to be well born. Physical deformity does not necessarily lead to delinquency, although it might.

It is difficult to sift the wheat from the chaff of all that has been said about the effect of the mode of the child's training upon his later conduct. We may be led into some dead ends in trying to parallel causes and results but the ultimate goal is so important that we must think and act as constructively as we can. A few minor mistakes with the "mind in the making" will certainly not be as fatal as allowing our children to "grow up like Topsy." We should be concerned with the child's earliest lessons; he should not be allowed to read vicious literature in which cruelty and brutality are portrayed. He should be taught truthfulness, courtesy, thoughtfulness, generosity and respect for the rights of others. The widespread use of toy guns and pistols by children is not considered advisable by child specialists such as Angelo-Patri. The National Congress of Parents and Teachers urges parents to recognize the harm that comes to children from toys and playthings that incite to war, crime, and the emulation of gangsters.

Dr. John Slawson, New York social welfare executive said that we must focus attention on the high chair instead of the electric chair. Indeed, we must approach the problem of juvenile delinquency, he continues, even before birth through training of parents. This idea is substantiated by Judge Alfred J. Talley, who, when speaking at the Albany Crime Conference, said the parents are the real educators. Their chief duty is the soul-enlarging, character-shaping and mind-enriching of their children during

the wonderful habit-forming years between birth and the age of seven or eight.

One obvious answer in extenuation for the failure of parent training to alleviate the high delinquency rate may seem to be that environment outside the home has had the strongest influence. Motion pictures, depicting crime and cruelty, are criticized for having evil influence over children. Many cartoons in newspapers depict violence as funny. Sensational newspapers also are pointed out as fruitful sources of evil influence. Detailed accounts of crime are exploited and criminal deeds of bandits are given a species of glorification, the influence of which upon the young is deplorable. Gambling is presented to children through slot machines and in other ways. Gambling rests on the desire to get something for nothing—so does burglary and larceny.

The answer that might have seemed so "obvious" is no answer at all. What is just as urgently needed as parent training is the education of parents. A part of such an education should be directed toward creating the proper parental attitude toward crime in general. It has been proved time and again that organized public opinion can get any action that it desires. The elimination of juvenile gangsters in the Hyde Park Area of Chicago and abolition of "sell outs" in professional baseball are only two examples. The chief consumer unit in this country is the family and its attitudes determining its spending habits could certainly control the demand for goods and services. If the demand is for the proper type of motion pictures and newspapers, and for the elimination of gambling devices, that is what the public will get—but not until it demands it. This will require education. We are only spending about one-fourth as much for education as our crime is costing us.

The achievement of every worth-while objective of our society is largely a matter of education, which is always mentioned as the way out. This was true of prohibition enforcement. The elimination of juvenile delinquency is as simple as education, but education is not a simple problem. An essential step preliminary to any program of education is the raising of our general scale of living above the subsistence level. The family unit whose extent of consumption hardly extends beyond the bare necessities would evidently have no effect upon the demand for the better grade forms of information and recreation. This would be true even though the lower income class had an aversion to the patronage of the baser sort—unless it chose to use the ballot or direct action. This would be pre-supposing too much; it is most difficult to lift oneself by one's own boot straps, nor can an empty sack stand alone. I do not mean to say that there is a high positive correlation between delinquency and poverty. Most of those who live in poverty never have to be apprehended

for delinquency or crime. It is good that this is true or else what we would now consider a high crime wave would become sub-normal.

The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor made a very extensive study of the possibilities of rehabilitating juvenile delinquents, taking various institutions in different parts of the country for observation. Perhaps the most striking findings of this study have been those relating to the plans for placement and for supervision of the boys during the difficult period immediately following their return to community life. Home conditions, family standards, and the character of the neighborhood were found closely related to behavior. This would suggest that the most effective approach to a boy's rehabilitation would be to study him and his home situation very carefully and to undertake to improve, if possible, the family situation while he is being treated in the institution.

Thus it is not only necessary to change home conditions to help prevent delinquency but also to aid in adjusting boys and girls after institutionalization. It is not claimed that the home is the only type of association that makes for good or ill in the life of the boy or girl. The investigation of the Children's Bureau found that the boys paroled from the institution examined were on the whole more successfully adjusted to community life if they had social affiliations with churches, clubs, fraternal groups and took a greater interest in recreational programs.

The fact that there are institutions other than the home that influence the lives of our youth doesn't mean that the home is not potentially more important than all. The primary step that must be taken is to provide a standard of living at least somewhat commensurate with what our middle class type of education would lead one to expect. Being educated to live on one level and to have to live on a much lower one is not only disillusioning but it hardly prepares one for life. All of this, of course, is pre-supposing a standard of living that will permit every one to get at least a high school education if mentally equipped.

This leads us to a discussion of the type of education that will pay the best dividends to society. Since our boys and girls are potentially tomorrow's parents, the bright hope of the future certainly lies in today's properly adjusted young people. The Children's Bureau found a very close correlation between employment adjustment and conduct problems; only 15 per cent of the boys who were poorly adjusted in employment at the time of the study had escaped conviction subsequent to their first parole.

The investigators, after careful observation attributed this maladjustment largely to the type of education received. Their conclusion is that there should be a complete reversal of the all too-prevalent policy of attempting to force all boys through the

same educational process. They recommend good vocational education along with the more general types of courses.

A friend of mine who visited San Quentin prison in California stated that in answer to a query directed to the prison faculty as to wherein our educational system had broken down, one member's reply was that there should be numerous tests given in the public schools "to see what makes people tick" and said that it was being done with wonderful results in the prison. Thus we are coming right back to where we started from—striving for prevention through correct education in order to cut down the more expensive adjustment process to a minimum.

In order to learn how people "tick" we should extend our scientific research into characteristic personality problems, and in this way find out why the second generation of immigrants contribute such an unusually high proportion of this country's juvenile delinquents. An educational system that allows for individual differences will take note of the fact that inferiority feelings, with all that it implies, often grow out of frustrated desires. An educational system that really functions will help the second generation immigrant raise his standard of living and become assimilated into American life. Otherwise, in order to compensate for their inferiority feelings some individuals will assume an attitude of aggressiveness, of American chauvinism, or of intense loyalty to their background group, while others will become self conscious and hypersensitive to criticism and slights.

These objectives are very difficult to achieve and I would say that the economic difficulties are the hardest to overcome. Mayor LaGuardia of New York City facetiously stated that although he knew of the fine work done by the Bureau of Child Guidance in the school system, if he had to choose between it and free lunches served every noon to 90,000 pupils, he would choose the lunches. Because of the terrible housing conditions in city slums and the encouragement of child labor, which sends children either into the streets or sweatshops, it is very difficult to keep many of them from becoming anti-social. How can children get the proper perspective of life if they are denied the right to an education in the ordinary sense of that term?

Austin H. McCormick, Commissioner of Correction, New York City makes the following wide-sweeping recommendations for the educational system of his city in order to render it more adequate to the exigencies of modern life. Old buildings, especially in slum areas, must be replaced by modern ones to permit wider student and adult activity; more individual guidance and instruction at all grade levels; more active occupational experience and subordination of the textbook to realistic experience at all levels; comprehensive vocational program on the

secondary level; better coordination of all agencies to help physically handicapped children; and fuller use of school properties for educational and recreational activities.

This program could be adopted with profit by all other municipalities in this country, where it has not been done. There is one other thing that I understand that New York City is doing to help keep down delinquency, indirectly at least, that is, to help eliminate the failure of pupils in school, particularly where it is caused by the pupils having to work many hours outside of school. It has been thought better to take fewer courses and pass them than allow failure with resultant discouragement as well as added expense to the school system for carrying repeaters.

An illustration of a type of juvenile delinquency caused by a combination of economic insecurity and culture-race conflict (probably one growing out of the other) is that of the misconduct of some of Negro youth in the Harlem section of New York City. Conditions have become so bad that it has become necessary for truant officers to go in pairs for protection. I have been told by reliable authorities that there have been conflicts of a most malicious nature between the white and Negro boys. Both have been guilty of attacking school teachers in classrooms.

We are confronted with deeds of delinquency that no doubt would easily run the gamut of adult misconduct. But it is found from sad experience that juvenile delinquency requires a different treatment from adult crime; a case of using the best alternative. In completing the second of a series of five year studies in a volume titled *Later Criminal Careers* Dr. Eleanor T. Glueck and Professor Sheldon Glueck have forecast the results of court and clinic treatment of juvenile offenders with what has been described as "healthy and stimulating skepticism." The pessimistic conclusion of the juvenile delinquency study that only 12 per cent of the boys were actually rehabilitated by the court-clinic treatment brought a storm of protest from social workers and court officials, but it still stands, in the opinion of Mrs. Glueck. She says that she knows of three other studies made by others which amply confirm the findings in *Later Criminal Careers*. It should be pointed out, however, she continues, that follow up studies show a proportion of the "criminals" tend to settle down as they grow older. Mrs. Glueck places more confidence in crime prevention programs stating: "I think that the conviction is growing that unless children are treated at the 'mouth of the hopper', that is, before they get into the juvenile court, it is almost too late to do anything in the way of preventive treatment."

Such a statement as this coming from the Gluecks certainly merits some consideration. They have been designated as "the Lunt and Fontanne" of crimi-

nology and have set a new standard in penologic research. She is a Barnard College Alumna and her husband is professor in the Harvard Law School, their first research project having been presented in 1930 as a part of the studies in criminology of the Harvard Law School. Their first book was *500 Criminal Careers*, followed by *1000 Juvenile Delinquents*, in turn succeeded by *Later Criminal Careers*. Their latest work was a follow up of *1000 Juvenile Delinquents* which was anticipated with even more interest by the women of the country who have made the prevention of delinquency a vital study.

The Gluecks are not arguing for the abolition of the juvenile court since they know unfortunately that all delinquency can't be prevented and if there is to be juvenile delinquency the court is better adapted to aid the psychological complex of the child. They say that they are already beginning to see much improvement of the court "because there has been a growing awareness of the needs for a more unified service for delinquent children and better trained personnel in the courts." The unified service of which they speak, I take it, has reference specifically to such things as the "family court" where all who may contribute to the child's delinquency may be brought to the same adjudicatory agency.

The subject of this paper is "delinquency," referring of course, to the remissness of youth, but expert criminologists such as Dr. E. H. Sutherland, professor of criminology, Indiana University, believes that all adults who violate the law should be considered as delinquent rather than criminal and be treated as children are in juvenile courts; that is on the basis of curative measures rather than for revenge or for mere punishment.

It is only natural for two reasons that in the study of crime we should primarily consider young people. One of them is that we may learn how to prevent crime and the other is that most of our criminals are in the young age group. During the four years previous to 1936 the "crime age" was nineteen when it was shifted to twenty-two. In crimes committed, according to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, during the first quarter of 1936, the three leading age groups were, twenty-two, 5,028; twenty-one, 4,921; twenty-three, 4,781; nineteen, 4,552.¹

I must agree with Dr. Eleanor Glueck that preventive measures are best and at the expense of being considered dogmatic I will say again that parental education and parental training of children is our only hope. Human beings are to be congratulated that our crime bill is no larger than it is, not because the home environment, generally speaking,

is no worse, but because there are so many who rise above it. There is more self control exercised, by and large, than the world appreciates. It is true that if we include the "criminaloids" we might all be criminals, but we still leave that aside for the present at least.

In a monograph published in 1938 Dr. Nathaniel D. Hirsch formerly director of Wayne County Clinic for juvenile delinquency and now State Director of the United States Public Health Survey examined the problem: "Dynamic causes of juvenile crime." The 2,000 delinquents studied by Dr. Hirsch had 4,196 brothers and sisters, ten years old and more. Less than 22 per cent of these 4,196 (911 to be exact) were delinquent. Why did 78 per cent of the brothers and sisters behave themselves when, by all of the rules, they ought to have become offenders, too?

Hirsch really has no explanation for it; he tries to attribute the delinquency principally to heredity by saying that out of the brothers and sisters that did go wrong 22 per cent more closely resembled their parents who had transgressed the law. But he has no explanation for the other brothers and sisters who became delinquent but who did not resemble their parents except that environment might be the greatest factor.

Still we have a much greater number of children living in Chicago's worst districts who have never been charged with delinquency. The environment is important, but what is just or probably more important is the way that we react to our environment and in a sense no one has the same environment although he lives in the same neighborhood. What Hirsch may mean without realizing it when he speaks of children resembling their parents is that they have reacted to their environment in the same way rather than that there should be any inherent likenesses there.

No doubt many of the parents who live in the "blighted areas" have become victims of our educational fallacies and have continued their problems of adolescence into parenthood and are now what some have termed "problem parents." They are partners in maladjustment with their children, one is criminal and the other is delinquent. The way a person reacts to his environment may depend primarily upon circumstances rather than the condition of the chromosomes. As told by Sutherland, the plot of a recent motion picture is based on a comparison of two boys engaged in theft. When discovered, one ran more rapidly, escaped, and became a priest; the other ran less rapidly, was caught, committed to the reformatory, and became a gangster.²

Hirsch admits that too little is known of the intelligence, personality trends and deficiencies, emotional

¹ *New York Times*, May, 1936.

² E. H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* (New York, 1934), p. 4.

and temperamental abnormalities and individual habits of the parents of the delinquents. In this I am in full agreement; it is from this angle that juvenile delinquency must be attacked if we ever find a solution.

Surely no one will argue that because most of the children of slums escaped delinquency, that places of squalor and filth are the best in which to create stable homes and raise normally social families. Nor can it be argued that the child's world may not be a dizzy, uncertain place in which to live even if parents have the economic security of wealth. Dr. H. Meltzer, director of the Psychological Service Center, St. Louis, in questioning children living on three economic levels found that their chief desire was for security in the general sense of that term.

Dr. Meltzer found great wealth and consequent economic security did not invariably make the child feel more at home in his world than if he had less money, but more stable living conditions and family did. The reason for this seems to be, so Meltzer says, that many wealthy parents are looking for the first opportunity to move away and join the richest group living on the best streets or in the country. When a child does not feel safe and at home in his world he is apt to develop strange quirks and twists of personality which make it hard or even impossible for him to fit into normal school and community life. He becomes a problem child and gets into difficulties with the authorities. As might be expected the lack of economic security in the lowest level was reflected in the personalities of children.

Meltzer concluded from his research that children from the middle class are apt to have the best mental health and to develop the most balanced personalities; children from the highest economic level ranked second and those from the poorest level ranked third. His findings would seem to confirm the validity of my suggestion that we gear our middle educational point of view to an equitable plan of distribution so that all could live at least on the middle class level, comfortably and efficiently.

This would not bring the Utopia, but it would certainly eliminate a large number of "unknowns" in our human equation. We only attain the ideal

by trial and error and finally trial and success. Probably one of the best suggested programs looking toward alleviating the condition of juvenile delinquency, worked out really by experts occasioned by John D. Rockefeller 3rd's giving vent to his hobby—"the study of youth in crime." He spent some time in a prison studying delinquency at first hand.

This program is advocated for every big city in the country and undoubtedly is worth a trial.

- (1) A special legal code to cover boys between sixteen and twenty-one years.
- (2) A new court, "Delinquent Minors Court," to handle cases under this code.
- (3) A dual system of disposing of these cases through determination of punishment or treatment on an individual basis by a special board of legal, social and psychiatric experts.
- (4) Arraignment of prisoners immediately on arrest to avoid the "hardening" effects of delays.
- (5) Settlement of cases swiftly, swift and sure justice has a greater deterrent quality than heavy punishment.
- (6) Sentences of four types: (a) for those "who cannot or will not" reform; (b) for "the less tractable though ultimately reformatable" offenders, special training schools and work camps "sufficiently isolated to provide a completely controlled environment"; (c) for "those whose need is better environmental opportunities, a return to schooling or employment in favorable surroundings under definite supervision"; and (d) for "those who can continue in their usual environment, supervised freedom on probation."³

About this whole problem I feel as Rockefeller seemed to, when he replied to a question relating to his intended project. He was asked if he didn't think that he should save democracy first. Rockefeller's answer was: "Maybe this is one way to help save democracy."

³ *New York Times*, May 21, 1938.

Illustrative Materials for the Classroom

FLORENCE BERND¹

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In offering this series of articles combining source material, music and art, there has been a fourfold purpose:

1. To give access to illustrative material not easily obtainable by the vast army of social studies teachers in the rural sections and smaller towns and cities where library facilities are limited.

¹ Deceased.



Luther Preaching at Wartburg

MARTIN LUTHER'S HYMN, *Ein Feste Burg*, A Fortress Strong¹

1 { God is our strong-hold and our stay, Our hope in trib-u-la-tion;
What tho' the mountains rock and sway To earth's long-hid founda-tion?

What though the o-cean roar, Fast gain-ing on the shore,

The hurt-ling storm rage loud Be-neath the thun-der cloud?

Our hearts are all un-trou- - bled. A-men.

¹ Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church, published by the Church Pension Fund, New York, No. 214, page 278.

2. To provide an opportunity for cooperative contributions by members of the class and also of the music and art departments. With this in view, one group may give a report on the worthiness of the source, another group may present an explanation of the picture in relation to the source as a basis for discussion, while a third may be responsible for an account of the origin of the music and its value.
3. To impress upon young minds the basic fact that this world's progress and culture stem from many lands and ages—a Roman Pope, a German reformer, an English chronicler, king and commoner of many diverse creeds and callings.
4. To open up ever widening horizons that may lead boys and girls to find within themselves some measure of contentment to counterbalance the feverish dependence on externals in today's distraught world.

Only the simplest music has been offered in order that it may be within the range of the young. This may be richly supplemented in many cases by the use of victrola records, though nothing can take the place of student participation.

It may be said that this is no untried plan. It was used over a long period with ninth grade boys to whom one might doubt its appeal, but on the contrary and perhaps a bit disconcerting to the teacher, it is a fact that after many years, these boys, grown into mature men have remembered the music and the picture and the contents of the source, when they have forgotten the name of the textbook.

MARTIN LUTHER'S LETTER TO HIS LITTLE SON, HANS²

Grace and peace in Christ, my dear little son. I am glad to see that you are studying well and praying diligently. Do so, my little son, and continue

to make progress, and when I come home I will bring you something nice from the fair. I know a gay and pretty garden into which go many children who wear little golden robes and pick up from under the trees pretty apples and berries and blue and yellow plums. They sing and jump and are happy, and they also have pretty little ponies with golden bridles and silver saddles. So I asked the man to whom the garden belongs, who these children were and he said, "Those are the children who like to say their prayers and study and are godly." Then I said, "Dear sir, I, too, have a son called little Hans Luther, couldn't he come also into the garden so that he might eat such pretty apples and pears and ride such fine little ponies and play with these children?"

Then the man said, "If he likes to say his prayers and study and be godly, then he may come into the garden and Lippus and Jost, too, and when they have all assembled, they shall also have fifes and drums and lutes and all kinds of harps, and they may dance and shoot with little crossbows." And he showed me there in the garden an open meadow arranged for dancing and there hung idle golden fifes and drums and fine silver cross-bows. But it was still early and the children had not yet eaten.

For that reason I could not wait for the dancing and I said to the man, "Oh, dear sir, I will go away quickly and write all of that to my dear little son, Hans, so that he will pray diligently and study well and be godly so that he may come into this garden, but he has an aunt Lene whom he must bring with him." Then the man said, "So shall it be, go and write him." Therefore, my dear little son, Hans, study and pray confidently and tell Lippus and Jost, too, so that they will study and pray so that all of you may come into the garden together.

And now I commend you to the care of almighty God. Give my greetings to aunt Lene and give her a kiss for me.

Your loving father,
Martin Luther

In the year, 1530.

² Translated from the original.

In Apologia of an Essay Examination

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Ever since testing has become a topic of debate and discussion in the educational world, there has been much controversy on the potential values in essay and new-type objective forms. Most colleges test their incoming freshmen with the latter type.

The history test is no exception. This article proposes an essay examination in history as an entrance requirement in place of the usual new-type test.

Since the topic of this article calls for the discussion of a time-honored debate, I have no other al-

ternative than to proceed on the assumption that I have an argument to prove, so debate I will. Of course, I realize I'm putting the negative on the proverbial spot, for my worthy opponents can speak only where and what I desire. Too, I can formulate and define the question. With all the advantages in my favor, I'm still under fire.

Stated, the question for debate is:

Resolved: That an essay examination for freshmen will serve to greater advantage the purposes of an entrance and placement examination in history, and that the examination submitted will answer these purposes.

In defining this question it is necessary to distinguish between an essay and an objective examination and realize the possibilities of each. The essay examination has had much derogatory criticism cast in its direction. However, it is encouraging to note that some of the more recent books on education find very favorable comments to make on their value. Two such books are *Measurement in Today's Schools* by C. C. Ross and *Principles and Practices of Teaching in Secondary Schools* by Thomas M. Risk.

The possibilities of any examination are directly dependent upon the purposes for which the examination is given. Essay examinations help the examiner to discover the ability of the student to interpret facts, the critical capacity of the student, his reasoning ability, his ability to organize his ideas from the material he has to use, his attitudes—all of which might be defined as his insight into the human relationships which make up history.

My opponents supporting the negative side of this argument might easily step in here and say that essay examinations do not measure these abilities. Of course, they would go on and exemplify their argument with one of the old recall type questions found in essay examinations. In this debate the affirmative excludes this type of question from the essay category. It is truly measuring only factual knowledge, a purpose (insofar as I'm concerned) foreign to the essay test. The real advantages of this type of test can only be realized when it is confined to the measurement of the abilities (and like abilities) already mentioned. This argument would then eliminate one of the common criticisms of the negative side—that essay tests are an inadequate sampling of a course (speaking in terms of acquired facts).

In their present form essay tests warrant much improvement. Many so-called essay tests are merely very poor objective tests seeking to find out how many facts a student has memorized. Their total value cannot be realized until they are confined to their field which excludes entirely this latter purpose. Wording of questions on essay tests has also proved them, in many cases, unsatisfactory. The question should always restrict the response toward the ob-

jective which it is desired to measure. A final attempt at improving the essay test should be directed toward a method of "grading." This "grading" does not imply scoring items which are right and wrong. Instead, some criteria should be set up which would give a fair interpretation of the quality of the answer.

In all fairness to the advocates of the objective or new-type examination, it is necessary to present some of the desirable qualities of this type. However, these qualities are only evident when the purpose of the examiner is testing for mere facts. Because they set out with this purpose, the examiner using an objective test can claim for it great objectivity, validity, and reliability—its scoring is objective, it does test for facts, and results are constant.

These values in relation to the question at hand are practically nil. What has the objective test to offer by way of measuring ability? Insofar as I can comprehend, the answer to this question must be "nothing." In *Measurement in Today's Schools*, Ross points out that advocates of the new-type test claim that they measure other objectives than memory. According to these examiners a simple recall type question "should call forth responses of a higher intellectual level than mere rote memory." For an example of such a question in the field of social studies, they suggest filling in parts of a map or diagram. Is this testing anything else but rote memory? I don't think so and don't see how it could. For multiple-choice questions, the value of measuring such objectives as "inferential reasoning, reasoned understanding, or sound judgment and discrimination" is claimed. If the correct factual answer is not known, how is this possible? It is said that the multiple-choice question compels careful comparison. If the examiner cannot observe the process of the comparison in action, what is the value of this type of question other than testing for fact? It's encouraging to think something's happening, but I want to know what it is and observe it in process. As an example of a good multiple-choice question from a Wesley Test in Political Terms, the following is given:

An embargo is (1) a law or regulation, (2) a kind of boat, (3) an explorer, (4) a foolish adventure, (5) an embankment.

Does this compel a careful comparison?

In the Cooperative Test of Social Studies Abilities Experimental Form 247, a question is included (objective) which is supposed to show the student's ability to interpret facts. A paragraph is given comparing the rise of the Industrial Revolution in Germany with that in England. Following the paragraph there is a list of statements. The student is to decide whether the statement is a reasonable interpretation supported by facts, whether it goes beyond the facts and cannot be proved by them, or whether the statement contradicts the facts. This seems to me more

like a test in reading comprehension. In this particular situation I think an essay type test would be a better measure of the objective. Since this question deals with the Industrial Revolution in England and Germany, a deeper understanding of the ability of the student to interpret facts would be gained by the formation of a trend, and then questioning from the trend. Thus: "An upheaval in the underpinnings of economic life in England in the eighteenth century turned the focus of attention from within herself, a self-sufficient country, to outward glances for the development of foreign trade and world interdependence, which resulted in political as well as commercial power." How can this statement be applied to nineteenth century Germany? This would, in my opinion, really display an insight into history—not a test of reading ability. For these reasons an objective test is inadequate for the examination proposed in this paper. The basic value of the objective test lies in using it for the purpose of testing for facts; the basic value of the essay test lies in its ability to reflect the insight a pupil has into history. The latter is what we want to know about entering college freshmen.

I have said that I'm testing to discover insight. By insight into history I mean the ability of a pupil to interpret, evaluate, apply, compare, contrast, discriminate, and relate the events in the stream of history through a real understanding of human relationships as they have existed, as they exist, and as they may exist in the future. If a pupil can do this, he will inevitably sense the space and time relationships which make the stream of events called history. Since history does not exist without the historian, a test to determine the historical insight of a student should be one in which the student could assume some of the characteristics of the historian, at least to the extent of recording an interpretation. I'm really testing to find out about the individual and his relation to history. This cannot be done by giving him 200 items to check, thus stereotyping him as a memorizing genius or a factual moron.

If the pupil displays the insight of which I speak, he must necessarily possess a body of information and also display his knowledge. I am not restricting this body of information to anything except United States history. This does not mean the United States history as it is found in a high school history text. Why should a student's individual achievement in history be so limited? The most interested and understanding person will be the one who is widely read and widely experienced. Let this individual "spread his wings" on this examination.

Somewhere in the distance out and beyond theorizing, I feel the derogatory finger of my negative opponents pointed at me. They are probably saying, although I can't hear them, that my test will be too

general, it will not be limited enough, and that some of the students will "get by" through bluffing. I hope not. Maybe I'm attempting the impossible in trying to realize this idea in a practical test, but I aim to prove, at least to my satisfaction, that it can be done.

The embryo history student, the fellow who can't "spread his wings" yet, must also be provided for in this examination. If he is not held to specific facts of exact dates and places, etc., he can show his ability in the handling of material which he possesses. A piece of calico cannot make so beautiful a gown as a piece of satin, but they both can be as neatly put together. This last statement implies that, although a student lacks as great a command of information, he possesses the skills of organization and presentation. Too, if he displays insight, he will necessarily display his attitudes, political, economic, and social.

I should like to say that the pupil who does not show evidence of historical insight should be excluded from the field of history. However, this would be very unfair. Certain potentialities along this line may be possessed by the student, but may never have had a chance to develop. Should I have been subjected to such a test upon entering college, I should probably have rated very low. It was not until I was a freshman in college that I began to get a faint idea of what history was all about. Heretofore, it was always represented by a series of isolated, memorized facts, and how I hated it! Therefore, the student shall be given a try at history whether he fails this test or not. Unless he shows marked inability by failure in other college entrance exams, he will be placed in a history class with others of his ability.

I have said that this examination will not include the knowledge of a body of facts essentially common to all the individuals taking the test. One such body doesn't exist to test the real ability of a student in history. Such dates, events, etc., are so isolated, so limited in scope, and so self-evident that to test for them on a college entrance exam would be inconceivable. I can't see where any value in estimating student ability could accrue from it.

Satisfactory evaluation of the examination must be possible if the objectives are to be realized in any tangible form. According to Douglas E. Scates, the results of objective tests "are of relatively superficial significance as indicators of real growth."¹ Although evaluation of such tests is relatively simple and accurate, it has very little meaning. On the other hand, the evaluation of an essay examination is both difficult and allows for many inaccuracies. As an advocate of such a test, I shall endeavor to present a plan for

¹ Douglas E. Scates, "Complexity of Test Items as a Factor in the Validity of Measurement," *Journal of Educational Research*, XXX (October, 1936), 72-92.

evaluation which will measure the objectives of the exam somewhat accurately.

To summarize the items being measured, it is sufficient to say that I'm searching to find the historical insight of a prospective history student and observing how his varied (read and experienced) background, his attitudes, and his skills in organization and presentations have conditioned and help to reveal this insight.

I am not attempting the impossible to make this exam reliable. J. W. Wrightstone states that in an investigation on the essay examination the papers were judged according to merit of response into normal distribution groups. Each section of distribution was marked with a predetermined score. Variation among readers was slight and the reliability of the exam was .84.²

Before the examination is "graded," the members of the department should meet and agree to the objective being measured by each question. The various elements of an answer should be discussed and some conclusion drawn as to what they should be. Scorers must decide how they will provide for differences in the standard of "grading" responses of varying qualities. Several papers should be read by several readers to discover whether the grading scheme is workable. There should be no one ideal answer. Rather the answer should be scaled.

Objectives measured in this test should be those for which no new-type is available. C. W. Odell in his *Traditional Examinations and New Type Tests* states that Brinkley in an investigation found that essay exams are more valid for measuring general achievement in history.

With the possibility of validity and reliability proved, and with a plan for improvement to follow, I believe the following method for scoring will prove successful. The exam will contain four questions. With fifteen professors of the history department to read them, ten will be asked to read in their entirety thirty-three papers, while five will read thirty-four, totaling 500 students as the approximate size of the new class. (These numbers could be changed to meet the needs of the school.) Each question will be scored according to different criteria because each will be stressing a different phase of the total "insight objective." Regarding the possibility of each scorer reading only one question, I decided against this procedure because a total view of a given pupil's insight could be derived better by observing him in action under different conditions.

Two hours will be allowed for answering the four questions. This does not mean that the student will be writing for this length of time. I expect him to do

some thinking, as well, and spend thirty minutes on each question. There will be no choice of questions because this would invalidate the test. The choice comes within each question itself and will help determine whether the objective has been attained by the student.

Question I

Purpose: To measure the critical capacity of the student.

Critical capacity, in this sense, means to determine whether a given statement is an adequate explanation of a situation.

Question: Economic conditions invariably effect political change. To what extent does this statement explain United States politics from 1929 to 1940?

In reading this question the scorer should observe:

- (1) The extent to which the student accepts this statement as a full explanation of the circumstances. He may display political biases and other "baggage" which would interfere with his logic.
- (2) The soundness of his logic.
- (3) The extent to which the student realizes that in turn political change causes economic change.
- (4) The variety of factors and the way they are used to present this criticism.

If the student has shown a capacity for intelligent criticism, he has displayed the possession of one phase of historical insight. He might even be the fellow who will be the greatest source of opposition in the history class, but he'll always have an intelligent idea, if not always sound.

Question II

Purpose: To measure the ability of the student to apply information learned in one situation in the solution of a problem in a new situation.

Question: From your understanding of the social conditions arising in Western towns after the Gold Rush of '49, explain the social problems you'd expect to find arising in one of our "boom towns" today, the "boom town" existing because of a nearby army camp or a new defense plant.

In reading this question, the scorer should be very careful to observe that the pupil has applied knowledge from one situation to another. The statement of existing facts in one or both cases, isolated from the idea of application, will not suffice. This question allows for some color and originality. The "alive" person would be quick to recognize this advantage and would be quick to utilize it as such.

Question III

Purpose: To determine whether the attitude of the student in a given situation is based mainly on emotion or on sound reasoning.

²J. W. Wrightstone, "Are Essay Exams Obsolete?" *Social Education*, I (October, 1937), 401-405.

Question: Legislation involving labor has established a place in United States government. To what extent and purpose is such legislation advisable in time of peace? In time of war?

The scorer should here try to distinguish between a sincere attempt on the part of the student to reason soundly and the lack of such an attempt resulting in a highly emotional interpretation. In either case, the attitude of the individual is bound to be revealed. The answer with the least emotion would reveal the student with the greatest amount of historical insight insofar as his development of attitudes is concerned.

Question IV

Purpose: To test the ability of the student to interpret relationships. The relationships referred to in this particular question are those of time and space.

Question: Compare the factors which made it possible for Washington and Lincoln to become great men in United States history.

The answer to this question should deal with each man in his setting of time and space and then similarities of these two situations should be pointed out.

As each paper is read, the scorer should write down any remarks relevant to the ability with which the student has handled each question in regard to its purpose. He should read through all thirty-three or thirty-four papers and arrange them in groups according to the marked ability shown. When he has grouped all of the papers, he should mark the class number into which the student is to be placed at the top of the exam. Since no pupil is to be excluded

from entering on the basis of history alone, it is not necessary to determine a letter grade for each pupil. The comments would serve even better to place him. However, if the student displayed no historical insight as defined in this debate, I should say he had failed.

I hope by a definite plan for evaluation, although it is not in the least mathematical, to relieve the scorers of this exam of the feeling so ably and humorously expressed by R. J. Bretnall, a puzzled instructor, in his poem, "Mystery":

I search with thoughtful deep intent
For something that will represent
A guess, perhaps intelligent.
My brain reels on in wild congestion,
Down goes a mark at some suggestion—
And then I ask myself this question,
"Is this his grade or my digestion?"³

In this personally conducted debate, I forgot to mention that, had the negative an opportunity to speak, my opponents had only to prove me wrong. They need offer no better suggestion. Too, I, the affirmative overstepped my bounds in that it was my duty to construct, not negate. I did both to my advantage. The "I" in this paper just couldn't exist in a debate, but I was and am afraid I have a lack of colleagues to warrant "we" usable.

Nevertheless, at least I am convinced that something approximating my ideas is preferable to the usually stereotyped entrance examination.

³ *The Clearing House*, XI (December, 1936), 227.

The Haves and the Have-Nots

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Glibly the words, "promoting the general welfare," roll off oratorical tongues. This brief phrase from the Preamble of the Constitution of the United States has fallen with increasing frequency and emphasis upon millions of listening ears, and yet it is a meaningless ritual for many Americans. Were the phrase a real, live issue, would not the number of "Have-Nots" in our country be decreased? But, before we worry about changing the "Have-Nots" to "Haves," we had better ascertain if the "Have-Nots" are really the unfortunate people. Do the "Haves" of our United States, with the best of this world's comforts, enjoy life and living? Do the "Have-Nots" need sympathy for their lack of conveniences and

comforts? Further, in what ways do the two groups act, think, and look upon life differently from each other? What part does the lack of this world's necessities or the possession of the world's luxuries play in building the character of the youth of today?

Undoubtedly, questions such as these have long vexed the minds of thinking people. To answer such queries, the Character Research Institute was founded at Washington University by Dr. Theodore F. Lentz. In cooperation with the United States Office of Education, data were compiled which made it possible to compare character differences of various groups. Altogether 750 high school graduates bespoke their preferences, dislikes, interests, and opinions by react-

ing to the 2,500 items of the *Youth Expressionnaire*, a self-administering instrument. Naturally, the responses to these manifold items presented a vivid characterization of the participator or "guinea pig." Moreover, correlation and analysis of the reactions of the 750 respondents disclosed many interesting differences among various groups.

Before correlations with economic status could be effected, it was necessary to place each person in his economic rank. An economic status scoring scale was therefore devised. This measuring tool summed up such items as the following: the occupation of the father, the school of the father and of the mother, regular savings, foreign travel, books in the home, attendance at private camps, and conveniences in the home. Since extremes on the scale of economic status were desired, only the 100 persons receiving the highest scores and the 100 receiving the lowest scores were studied. Fortunately, these showed a wide diversity; the scores of the "Haves" ranged from 66 to 92, and those of the "Have-Nots" from 0 to 25.

Comparing the responses of the "Haves" and the "Have-Nots" revealed many startling similarities and many striking differences which substantiated the work of the investigation.

Since the *Youth Expressionnaire* gave a picture of the character correlates of high school graduates only, what could be more interesting or pertinent than the reactions of the two groups to questions concerning various organizations and extra-curricular activities during their high school days. Is it significant that the "Haves" had 70 per cent of their group graduate in the upper third of their class, while only 59 per cent of the "Have-Nots" achieved that distinction? In the "Have" group 81 per cent had been recognized leaders of a group; the "Have-Nots" rated but 62 per cent of their members with that acknowledgment of respect from their classmates. Since nothing succeeds like success, would it consequently follow that the "Haves" acquired general confidence? "Do you usually get what you want?" "Yes" was the answer of 78 per cent of the "Haves" compared with 51 per cent of the "Have-Nots." Special confidence in themselves also appeared, since 71 per cent of the "Haves" believed in their ability to turn out a large amount of work, while only 57 per cent of the lowest economic group felt able to cope with a big job. Insofar as the president, captain, or chairman of almost every literary organization, almost every social activity, almost every student publication, almost every musical club, and almost every student government council among the high school activities is a representative of the "Haves," is not a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" hampered?

In this age when international questions loom

large, attitudes toward international-mindedness attract everyone's attention. Three-fourths of the "Haves" were sure that they would enjoy knowing people of India, although only one-half of the "Have-Nots" had any desire to know the Hindus. A total of 80 per cent of the "Haves" trust the Chinese, but only 59 per cent of the other group would trust them. "Race prejudice is beneficial as it keeps undesirable foreigners from the country." So believe 30 per cent of the "Haves" while 51 per cent of the "Have-Nots" hold this to be true. Three-fourths of the "Haves," as compared with less than one-half of the "Have-Nots," favor the participation of the United States in a World Court or League of Nations. What has caused these differences in attitude? Would you wish to permit the "Haves" rather than the "Have-Nots" to sit at the peace table after the present international war?

Which group would use the best judgment in spending the people's money if it were in power? The *Youth Expressionnaire* listed sixty activities on which society might spend money. Each person indicated for each item whether, in his opinion, the amount expended should be increased, decreased, or kept the same. Table 1 depicts the opinions voiced by each group concerning the value of various projects.

TABLE 1
ACTIVITIES ON WHICH MORE MONEY WOULD BE
SPENT BY THE HAVE-NOTS

Percentage of Haves	Percentage of Have-Nots	Difference	Activity
11	39	28	War Veterans' Pensions
15	41	26	WPA
30	53	23	Food
59	78	19	Old Age Pensions
35	52	17	Relief for the Unem- ployed
43	59	16	Government Employment Agencies
52	67	15	Recreation for the Un- employed
8	23	15	Clothes
80	95	15	Expansion of Rural Elec- trification

The above percentages clearly voice the apathy of the "Haves" toward projects which would help to better the condition of the "Have-Nots." Our forefathers' dream of public schools for everyone, rich and poor, has been realized. Our dream of economic assistance for the "Have-Nots" must become a reality. A sense of economic security surely is the right of every person.

On only two of the sixty items—Indian reservations and labor-saving machinery—did a significantly greater proportion of the "Haves" advocate the spending of more money. With respect to decreased expenditures, however, they had more conviction. Table 2 shows the activities on which the "Haves" would spend less money.

TABLE 2
ACTIVITIES ON WHICH LESS MONEY WOULD BE
SPENT BY THE HAVES

Percentage of Haves	Percentage of Have-Nots	Difference	Activity
72	45	27	Advertising
57	32	25	Army
52	32	20	Militia
51	35	16	Limitation of Farm Pro- duction
64	48	16	Air Force
34	19	15	Ship and Aeroplane Sub- sidies
34	20	14	

The figures in this table definitely predict the state of unpreparedness in which our country found itself at the outbreak of the present war, since these opinions were expressed before the beginning of World War II. Perhaps, the "Have-Nots," in their vigilant search for security, sensed the danger of an enemy's preparedness.

Would occupational preferences between the two groups be sharply defined? The answer is "Yes." The "Haves" voiced preferences for the following vocations: surgeon, advertiser, illustrator, physician, sculptor, scientist, astronomer, dean, and interpreter. The "Have-Nots" anticipated in their choices such work as civil service employee, athletic director, high school teacher, accountant, and bookkeeper. Undoubtedly, among the group of "Have-Nots" there were many who possessed the necessary qualifications for creative work, but they chose work that presented security, long tenure, and a stated regular salary. Necessarily, they must have felt economically unequal to the many years of preparation and the "first lean years" required to build a professional clientele. Moreover, the "Haves" had less prohibitive feeling, as evidenced by their wide choice of occupations.

Curiously similar were the reactions of the two groups for and against various listed foods. If one were planning an acceptable menu for either group, he would please the palates by serving the following foods for which over 85 per cent of each group voiced a preference:

	Soup	
Hamburger	Fresh Tomatoes	Peas
	Cherries	Peaches
	Angel Food Cake	

As much as gustatory enjoyment may contribute to happiness, however, other items in the *Expressionnaire* revealed differences between the "Haves" and the "Have-Nots" with respect to other phases of happiness. "Life has no particular purpose" was the sad confirmation of 12 per cent of the "Haves," while 30 per cent of the "Have-Nots" made this admission. A total of 18 per cent of the "Haves" confessed to having the "blues" often, whereas 34 per cent of the "Have-Nots" said that this was their condition. "Do you often feel that you would like

to get away from it all?" seems a morose question to ask high school graduates who should be sitting on top of the world. Yet, 28 per cent of the "Haves" declared that they would. Compare this with 44 per cent for the "Have-Nots." One shudders to learn that people today believe that individual and universal catastrophes come as punishment for wrongdoing. Yet, 16 per cent of the "Haves" and 47 per cent of the "Have-Nots" believe in this punishment from God. A more optimistic note is struck, however, in answer to the statement "The good of the world far surpasses the evil in it." Altogether 81 per cent of the "Haves" said "Yes," compared with 67 per cent of the "Have-Nots."

How would the picture look if we were to translate the percentages we have been discussing into a picture of all of the people in the United States? If our groups were assumed to be representative, one-seventh of the people of the United States would be classed in the "Have" group with a like fraction in the "Have-Not" group. The character sketch as portrayed by the opinions, likes, preferences, and interests of the 100 "Haves" and the 100 "Have-Nots" in our sample might be translated into terms of 20,000,000 "Haves" and "Have-Nots" each for the country as a whole. To make matters more understandingly impressive, we shall deal with round numbers only. As an example of what is meant, the statement: "Individual and universal catastrophes come as punishment for wrong-doing" may be used. A total of 16 per cent, or approximately 3,000,000 "Haves" believed it, as compared with 47 per cent, or 8,000,000 of the "Have-Nots" who believed it. "Life has no particular purpose" for 2,000,000 "Haves" and for 5,600,000 "Have-Nots." These figures are inaccurate, of course, because of the assumption of equal numbers of "Haves" and "Have-Nots" in the total population. Many would say that the "Haves" are far outnumbered by the "Have-Nots." In any case, however, being a "Have" does not eliminate faulty thinking and unhappy living, but the data analyzed furnished evidence that the "Have-Nots" were handicapped by being members of that group.

In the home there are other factors besides economic status which exert a significant influence on the youth. The richness of cultural tradition, degree of moral tone, and the drive of personal ambition are interwoven into the opinions and attitudes of the family. Does the character affect the economic status, or does the economic status affect the character? Perhaps both are true, but the opinions as expressed in reactions to the *Youth Expressionnaire* items present a picture of the "Have-Nots" drawn in defeatism, inferiority, anxiety, unhappiness, and deep desire for economic security. Were these conditions removed or alleviated, a concurrent and significant change of atti-

tude and opinion might take place. If so, the resulting adjustment would add to the general happiness and usefulness of our international family. We Americans must promote the general welfare by

preserving and promoting the freedom "from want and fear" and by providing a peace which assures it to all peoples—Chinese, Hindus, all.

Education and Culture in Switzerland

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In a war torn world, Switzerland still clings bravely to most of her cultural activities. That does not mean the Swiss have not felt the war. They have, bitterly. But while they struggle to survive the present holocaust, they look also to the future and the post-war era of reconstruction. When that time comes, Switzerland's educational and cultural work, both past and present, will have its effect in the rebuilding of a shattered Europe. At the very least, this tiny Alpine nation will continue to prove that different "races" can live and work together, peacefully and for the common good. That, in itself, is a major contribution.

Switzerland's cultural life centers in her seven universities, the Federal Institute of Technology and two Colleges of Commercial Science. Ten institutions

of higher learning are a considerable number when one considers that Switzerland has only 4,250,000 people. Until 1939, an average of 2,000 foreigners studied at Swiss universities, but of course this number has dwindled to just a few. Nevertheless, work goes on. The University of Fribourg recently completed new buildings. And the country's first institution, the University of Basle, founded in 1460, also greatly expanded its facilities and opened new colleges. In Switzerland's schools, still true to the tradition of such native-born educators as Rousseau and Pestalozzi, the light of free thought and tolerance shines brightly in a blacked-out continent.

Illiteracy is unknown in Switzerland. An important contributing factor was the establishment, at an earlier date than any other European country, of



The Twelfth Century Castle at Thun

free primary schooling. All school materials are paid for by the state. Yet at the same time the government gives private schools great freedom of action. Physical culture and sports hold an important place in school curriculums. For the aim of Swiss educators is not only to inculcate academic knowledge, but also to build character and well-rounded personalities.

While Switzerland's educational contributions are world recognized, not so much is known about her background and participation in other cultural pursuits. Yet in the arts, Switzerland's role has been by no means small. The Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance and Rococo periods each left masterpieces of architecture we can still admire today: St. Peter's Cathedral in Geneva, with its altar painting by Conrad Witz, which in 1444 marked a new era in European painting; the Cathedral of Lausanne with its famous Porch of the Apostles; San Lorenzo at Lugano; the monasteries of Einsiedeln and St. Gall; the cathedrals of Basle, Berne, Soleure, Fribourg and Zurich. All of them are creative gems, influenced greatly by foreign schools, yet each displaying certain characteristics that are purely Swiss. In all parts of the country there are also abundant ecclesiastical treasures—vestments, altars, murals, frescoes and stained glass windows of surpassing beauty.

Among the most charming evidence of Switzer-

land's Middle Age culture are the innumerable medieval towns and the medieval landmarks, still intact, in such cities as Berne, Zurich, Thun and Basle. Cobble-stone alleys and arcaded streets, dotted with ornamental fountains, are lined with picturesque old houses and gaily decorated guild-halls. Sometimes, outside the town, walls with massive wrought-iron gates and fortresses still stand sentinel, as sturdy and formidable in appearance as they were hundreds of years ago. Such are the "Munot" at Shaffhausen, the four-spired Castle of Thun, and the famous Castle of Chillon, whose grim walls rise from the placid blue waters of Lake Geneva.

In the sixteenth century Switzerland produced several master painters, among them Nicolas Manuel, Hans Leu, Urs Graf and Hans Holbein, who lived and worked in Basle for many years, where the best collection of his pictures may be seen. Swiss musicians were also active. The pianist Hans Fries was widely admired. Senfl was a perennial favorite who lived at Emperor Maximilian's court. And in northern Europe, Glarean was considered the foremost musician of the times.

Succeeding years brought fame and immortality to many other Swiss artists. There was Fussli, with his all-embracing classical knowledge, who acquired great renown in England. Buscher, Bodmer, Boecklin, Robert and Charles Gleyre—all were active in



The River Limmat at Zurich

the nineteenth century. Calame and Diday were romanticists whose pictures were particularly admired in Russia. Following all these came Switzerland's most famous modern artist, Ferdinand Hodler. His strongly individualistic paintings and drawings are truly Swiss in feeling, and vary from the vigorous and often sentimental treatment of northern nations to a clear-cut Latin style. Hodler's best known work, "The Retreat from the Battle of Marignan," is in the Swiss National Museum in Zurich.

The last century also produced four giants in Swiss literature: Jeremias Gotthelf, often called the "peasant's Homer," Gottfried Keller, who wrote magnificently of Swiss peasant life, Conrad Meyer, poet and short story writer, and Carl Spitteler, one of the greatest prose writers and poets of his day.

Switzerland can well be proud, also of her contemporary artists in music, painting and architecture. Best known are Corbusier, the pioneer in modern functional architecture; C. F. Ramuz, who is today one of the great authors in the French lan-

guage; and Arthur Honegger, composer of "King David," "Jeanne d'Arc" and such colorful impressionistic pieces as "Union Pacific," which is a tonal portrait of a locomotive.

The Swiss are both music-lovers and theatre-goers. The larger cities consistently see productions of the best foreign plays. But national theatre production is also strongly supported. Swiss plays and traditional dramas are presented regularly in Central Switzerland, at Interlaken and Einsiedeln. One of the best known national theatres is the "Theatre of the Jorat," in Canton Vaud, where Rene Morax began his march to international fame as a dramatist.

Switzerland has received much from the culture of other nations, and she has also given generously. But her greatest role is in the humanities—in decency, integrity and kindness. In this way Switzerland inspires us even more than with her rich cultural heritage and the breath-taking scenic splendor of vacation spots we Americans will again visit at war's end.

Beyond the Four Walls

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"I want an education because I want to be understood. I don't want to go through life and not have anybody understand what I mean—be always quarreling." The girl who said this to me was trying to tell me from the depths of her thought why she was struggling to get a high school education. I had been in her home a few days previous and had seen its piteous poverty, met a quarrelsome, unemployed father and a complaining dull mother. "I want to be understood." It was like seeing a familiar face but being sharply aware of the features. There could be no other aim for education, but that of understanding.

Then from another pupil I received this comment on teaching. The statements are poorly expressed, but their meaning is clear. "I dreamed there was a new type of study formed in which all teachers were compelled to study and understand. This concerned human nature and psychology so that teachers could understand *all* their pupils. For instance, if a teacher makes some remark to a pupil that's failing and through this has made this pupil a failure for the future, whereas if she could have understood her type of mind and makeup, she could have perhaps brought out something profitable to her and the world in the future."

"Understanding"—what a peculiar word it is:

"under" "standing." If we have "understanding" we know the meanings which "stand under" the words and acts which are our daily lives. We can no more teach "understanding" than we can teach life. But if we ourselves have the understanding or even glimpse an understanding of those meanings perhaps we can communicate something of this possession to our students. Where shall we search for understanding? We will not find it if our horizons are bounded by the four walls of the school room.

The teacher today is told to enrich her life. There are many formulae for the enrichment of life: travel, reading, pursuit of the arts, or perhaps the breaking of the minor conventions that in the past have been forbidden teachers, such as smoking, drinking or dancing. But will enriching one's life give one understanding? Pursuing the enrichment of life for the sake of the enrichment of life is like developing character for the sake of character, a cat pursuing its tail. Understanding may not follow. The giving of ourselves completely to something that is greater than ourselves alone is a means of understanding the meaning of life.

That something greater than ourselves is what we all seek and yet have such difficulty in finding. The plant pursues the sun for the unfolding of its own beauty. But we do not find so easily what is

good for us. No one can tell another what he should look for and yet each of us could show the way that he has tried to go. To me that way is the sharing of responsibility, however small a part, for creating the kind of world we want to live in. We cannot help only by thinking about the ideals of social justice or by talking to our friends and our students. We must take some responsibility for what happens to the world.

The teacher is not cut off from the rest of the world by the four walls of the school room. She may become a member of the many groups which are seeing clearly that there may be a new society in which each person may grow and develop to the full extent of his abilities. It is true that these groups do not have the blueprint for the new society that they are seeking.

Concretely, the teacher may join a political party, or as a member of the American Federation of Teachers she may be a member of the American labor movement which, for all its mistakes, sees a society in which there is free and equal opportunity. Labor wants the teacher. The public schools were established because of the demand of labor for free public education. Labor has declared itself over and over again for an extension of educational opportunity for children. I have been a delegate to the Central Labor Union of Minneapolis for six years and I know that the teacher is supported in requests made for the schools. But this is another story. Or again the teacher may join a consumer's cooperative in the attempt to find a way out of the economic morass. Do these suggestions seem a big jump from the ideal to the mundane? The ideal is useless if it remains only in the blue.

In times past it was expected that the teacher be a member of a church. In small communities the teacher, no doubt, must still be a church member. The teacher as part of a community was required to bear her share of social responsibility. The church as the guardian of social well-being in the community was the means by which the teacher bore her part. But the teacher has rebelled against the compulsion of the community that she be a church member. That the community expected teacher's membership in the church was evidence that the community expected social responsibility of the teacher. But one cannot find understanding by doing only that which is expected of one. One must find one's own way. However, the teacher still owes to herself and to her community her share in social responsibility. She should realize today as never before that the meanings of life are to be found in working together.

In war time we draw together instinctively. We not only think alike, but we find many ways of doing things together. But when we are at peace again, will we fall apart? We must not. Then as never before

we must find the groups that are planning for a better day. As an adult we must work with other adults. We do not find enough of the meanings of life by working only with other teachers. Thus does one come to an understanding of democracy when one has dared to be equal with others who may be planning and working toward the same ends. The common understandings are extended through working together.

We aim for our children their participation in group life. One of the expected results of the "social studies experience" in which children of the Minneapolis public schools participate is that they "help children to assume responsibility in civic affairs—cooperate in group understandings, recognize community needs, know how organized group effort has benefited and can further benefit mankind in improving health conditions, social conditions, conserving human and material resources, improving economic conditions." Yet how can we expect children to experience what we ourselves have never experienced. We, too, must assume responsibility in civic affairs, cooperate with groups who are aiming to improve health conditions, social conditions, conserve human and material resources, improve economic conditions. In the twentieth century the liberal political party, the cooperative societies, and the labor union are vitally concerned with these values.

The public will look with misunderstanding at the teacher who thus aligns herself with a group. She may be accused of the act of propagandizing and told that it is not the teacher's business to move beyond the four walls of the classroom. Yet to become an adult is to work with other adults, to make decisions, to accept one's mistakes. It is only in working with people toward an ideal that one can share responsibility, make decisions, shoulder one's mistakes, see evil, and remain willing to go on. The greatest test of all understanding is to be able to look on evil and good, and not be so blinded by the horror of evil, that one despairs of the good.

The teacher has a contribution to make to those who are planning for a new society. Perhaps it is not too much to say that labor's responsible place in the government of Britain is due, perhaps in a small degree, to the intellectual's contribution to the labor movement. The labor movement acknowledges that the teacher has the same problems that all wage earners have. The teacher in her turn can use her interest, her knowledge and her training in the struggle of the wage earner to better his life. It is true that the ideals of the better life have not been defined. The struggle of the labor movement must be more than a bread and butter movement. But it is only in the struggle that one may learn to understand. The teacher may both give and receive if she identifies herself in the labor struggle. This is not a plea

however, for the emancipation of labor, it is a plea for emancipation of the teacher.

The old type of teacher, who took so zealous an interest in her responsibilities that she has been caricatured for her narrowness and her frustrated seriousness, has vanished. A new type of teacher, who is just as serious about values, but whose values

of social justice and well-being have a wider and truer significance than the so-called moral values and who is willing to try to realize these values through her own responsible action, has not yet become a real force in American life. But she may, and if she should become such a force, we will have a democratic America.

Is the Teacher Important?

D. W. ROBINSON

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Is the teacher important in shaping the course of history? Does it matter much what the teacher says or does in his classroom? Can there be a doubt? Has Hitler not demonstrated in less than a generation how purposeful education can create a people devoted to a strange and immoral creed? If he could indoctrinate youth so successfully with an unnatural and immoral philosophy, what power have we to educate youth with loyalty to the ideals of a finer world!

Is the teacher important? Then what is he doing *as a teacher* to win this war? We have been told until we must believe, that to win this war we must win the peace, and the teachers of this country are in a position of crucial opportunity to educate an important part of the population, very likely the decisive part, to an acceptance of the ideas that must be accepted if we are to win the peace. The teachers of America are in a sense the key to victory in this world struggle. It is within their power to change the course of world history for a thousand years. What will they do with this immense responsibility?

The peace of the world for generations to come depends not simply upon the writing of an intelligent peace settlement, but upon the general acceptance of the dynamic ideas that must underlie that settlement. We know from the experience of 1919 that such general acceptance cannot be generated over night or in a few weeks. Now is the time for the teachers of the country to exercise their decisive influence to win the peace.

What is your school doing to prepare its students for participation in the post-war world? The social studies department is taking care of that. But what specifically is the social studies department doing? What ideals and attitudes is it fostering that will contribute to a better understanding of a better world to come? What ideals and attitudes do these social studies teachers themselves hold true? It certainly is not sufficient to say that the older generation has made a mess of the world. "You of the coming gen-

eration will do a better job. Go ahead and do it." How has the older generation failed? How can the coming generation do better?

Now we are engaged in a great global war, which can be won in a permanent sense only if it is followed by a real global peace. This is the first great responsibility of the teacher—to convince every student of the necessity for our country to share in guaranteeing the peace of the world. We failed in 1919 because the people of America had not learned that we must assume the responsibility in time of peace of cooperating with the nations of the world to prevent war. A policy of isolation in peace makes impossible isolation from war. A policy of cooperation in peace may avoid war.

This attitude of acceptance of our world role is as imperative as it is logical. The tragic twenty years just ended certainly discredits isolation. That failure to share the burdens of keeping the peace failed to keep us out of war. Now we must try the other road, whether it be labelled World Federation, Union Now, or League of Free Nations. We do not propose that the terms of the peace settlement should be written now, or that teachers should advocate any particular plan. We do not know when or in what manner the war will end or what specific arrangements may be feasible under the conditions then prevailing. What we can be fairly certain of is that there will be alternatives and that we should do all in our power now to condition our students to acceptance of the alternative that is built upon the ideal of international cooperation, implemented by an organization with power, rather than the one that reverts to national competition.

To those who might still distrust world federation the answer is clear. If you cannot trust the nations of the earth in peace-time cooperation, how can you in isolation trust them to keep the peace? To reject a world plan for cooperation is to admit war cannot be curbed. And it is not the American way to admit that an evil cannot be eradicated.

To those who claim that a peace based on world federation is idealistic, we might reply with Woodrow Wilson's words: "Some people call me an idealist. That is the way I know I am an American." Of course the plan is idealistic. Americans are proud of being idealists and their achievements have been born of their idealism. Teachers above all must be idealists.

Teachers must be aware—and must make their pupils aware—that nationalism as we have known it, must be discarded and with it many of the trappings of nationalism such as the high protective tariff system. There is no space here to dwell upon the virtues and vices of protectionism; it simply does not fit into the scheme of world cooperation. Opposite the protectionists' arguments may I place the judgment of Herbert Agar:

We are told that if it wasn't for our protective tariff the workman's wages would soon resemble those of a coolie. And this is odd for three reasons. In the first place only about seven million of the fifty million wage earners who are normally employed work in industries enjoying high protection. It does not seem likely that our wage levels are determined by the tariff benefits conferred upon this minority. In the second place our highest wages tend to be found in our efficient unprotected industries; our lowest wages tend to be found in the high tariff industries. In the third place it is generally true that factory employment has been at its peak in America when imports have been at their highest.¹

¹ Herbert Agar, *A Time for Greatness* (Little, Brown and Company, 1942), p. 34.

Cooperation replacing competition with restrictions in world trade is one of the foundations on which the lasting peace must be built, and one that our future citizens must be taught to look upon with approval.

Acceptance by the peoples of the world of a peace plan which includes a working scheme of shared responsibility for keeping the peace is only half the battle, and the second half. First, and perhaps more difficult, is the herculean task of winning the support of our own people and the other peoples of the world for such a plan. How persuade conquered Poles, defeated Germans, starved Greeks, exhausted Russians, to accept American leadership in a new world order? We can do it only by showing the world that our system of equality has something to offer the world. To be convincing to the rest of the world our democracy must be convincing enough to us to make us *use* it more than we do. The teachers of America, by their example even more than by their precept, must *work* to spread the democratic way of living. We must live the gospel of equality of opportunity and work for the abolition of social and economic disqualifications based on race, religion, or creed.

This dual task must be done if civilization is to have a chance to survive. Our people must be educated to a higher level of democratic living, and they must learn to accept the imperative of world cooperation, at the cost of some national prerogatives.

If the teachers of the country fail to rise to this responsibility some one else will. Are teachers important? They can be vital—if they will.

Visual and Other Aids

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Recent events have strikingly high-lighted the fact that social studies teachers have failed to emphasize the culture and history of Latin America in our classes. One of the factors contributing to this lack of emphasis has been the dearth of suitable visual materials treating this area.

However, recently much has been done to remedy this situation. A notable example of this is the series of films issued by the Office of Inter-American Affairs. The following films have been made available to schools by this office.

Americans All—A two-reel sound film contrast-

ing the cultures of the ancient Aztecs, Mexican Indians, and Incas, with the modern cities of Latin America.

The Bounteous Earth—A one-reel sound film portraying the dances accompanying the blessings of animals on Candlemas Day in the city of Cholula.

Brazil—A one-reel sound film depicting a comprehensive view of the cities, industries, and amusements of modern Brazil.

Brazil Gets the News—A one-reel sound film showing how Sao Paulo gets out a newspaper from gathering the news to distribution of the paper.

Colombia—A one-reel sound film giving a composite picture of the life and institutions within the country.

The Day is New—A one-reel sound film depicting the high-lights in a day's activity in Mexico City.

Fiesta of The Hills—A one-reel sound film recording the activities involved in a Mexican Fiesta.

High Spots of a High Country—A two-reel sound film portraying the significant aspects of civilization of present day Guatemala.

Hill Towns of Guatemala—A one-reel motion picture which depicts life in several small towns situated on the slopes of an extinct volcanic mountain.

A Line from Yucatan—A one-reel sound film high-lights the activities of the hemp industry to be found in this section of Mexico. Included in the portrayal are the effects of the closing of Pacific sources of this product.

Our Neighbors Down the Road—A three-reel sound film, the subject of which is the 1300-mile Pan-American Highway which when constructed will connect the principal cities of South America.

Patagonian Playground—A one-reel sound film which portrays the scenic beauty of Argentina's Nahuel Huepi Park.

Sundays in the Valley of Mexico—A one-reel sound film which depicts the environment around Mexico City.

Wooden Faces of Totonicapan—In this one-reel sound film Guatemala's Eight-Day Fiesta is depicted.

These films can be obtained on a rental basis for a nominal sum—in most cases not to exceed fifty cents from any major film library.

Walter O. Gutlohn, Inc., 25 West 45th Street, New York City, has released the following films dealing with the contemporary scene. All are one-half reel sound films. The sale price is \$15.00 each, or can be obtained on a rental basis for \$1.00 unless otherwise indicated.

All God's Chillun Need Wings—This is a story of the Air Cadet League of Canada which includes boys from twelve to eighteen years of age who are learning the fundamental skills necessary to become pilots.

Front Line Children—This film tells what is being done to protect children in the war areas through evacuating them to the country and by transporting them to America.

Production Soldiers—The subject of this film is labor's role in the war effort. The film portrays the activities of American labor leaders in the present crisis.

Hitler's Threat to America—In this film Ralph Ingersoll recounts his round-the-world inspection of today's battle fronts, giving his impressions and analyses of the present war activities in the Atlantic,

in Russia and China, and in the Pacific.

I Saw Russia—A report by Ralph Ingersoll of his six weeks in the Soviet Union with special emphasis upon the morale of the Russian people.

Middle East—This is a one-reel sound film which comprises maps and animations showing the importance of this part of the world in the present war. Rental price, \$1.50; sale price, \$15.00.

Soviet School Children—This is a three-reel sound film portraying the training given the Russian school children from kindergarten to college. The film shows such activities as work in physical education, music, dancing, vocational training, and mastery of the fundamental skills. Rental price, \$3.00; sale price, \$25.50.

Know Your Enemy—Japan—A two-reel sound film dealing with such vital questions as "How strong is Japan's armed force?" "Who rules Japan?" "How large is her reserve of raw materials?" and "What are the living standards of the Japanese?"

Castle Films, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City, has released *News Parade of The Year—1942*. This film depicts the struggle for the possession of Guadalcanal, Japan's air assault on Dutch Harbor, Alaska, the moving of U. S. troops into the Aleutian Islands, the battle of the Atlantic, the battle of Stalingrad, Brazil entering the war, the attack of the RAF on occupied France and Nazi Germany, the Dieppe raid, and the Midway Island battle.

This Corporation has also released *U. S. Carriers Fight For Life* and *Russia Strikes Back* (both subjects in the one film). The first phase of the film portrays the action of a United States carrier in a life and death struggle against a determined attack by Japanese bombers. The cameraman obtains shots of several near misses as Japanese planes crash into the ocean. The film shows the stern of the vessel set on fire by a bomb and the work of the fire-fighting crew who soon had the flames under control.

The Russian phase of the film depicts the various aspects of the Russian counterattack beginning with the battle of Stalingrad. The nature of the building-by-building, street-by-street, type of fighting in this battle is vividly portrayed. The film then shows the spreading of the Russian attack into a general assault along the entire 1200-mile front. The affects of the coming of winter upon the campaign are shown.

Bell and Howell Company, 1801 Larchmont Avenue, Chicago, has released *Liberian Republic* which depicts the role of Africa's only republic in the present war. The film shows scenes of the native army drilling with the aid of United States Army officers. Included in this film are scenes of life in the primitive back country, as well as in the modern capital, Monrovia. President Barclay is shown participating in state ceremonies.

News and Comment

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THOUGHTS ON THE POSTWAR WORLD

Rarely, if ever, have so many people in the midst of war given so much thought to the world of peace. At the turn of the year several journals took up the problem. *Frontiers of Democracy*, for January, converted the entire issue into "a handbook for discussion and study" of "Plans for a Post-War World."

William H. Kilpatrick, the editor, pointed out the road that must be followed: war must be outlawed and all nations must be assured economic security and freedom from want. Other distinguished writers analyzed and discussed several postwar proposals. In Professor Rugg's discussion of various plans teachers will find references to pertinent and important books and reports of organizations.

For those interested in further study of the matter, "An Outline of Study" is provided in *Frontiers of Democracy*. It is a guide to such questions as postwar nationalism, colonies, the issue of democracy, the status of the Axis powers, and the problems of the years immediately after hostilities cease.

In *Foreign Policy Reports* for January 15 are accounts of "What Americans Think About Post-War Reconstruction." They summarize the opinions of people in the Rockies and on the West Coast and in upstate New York. A similar survey was made in the issue for October 1, 1942. Americans seem now to be less isolationist. They are more friendly toward the idea that the United States should assume world political and military responsibilities after the war. But they are by no means willing as yet to have the nation assume economic responsibility for other nations.

An able and searching analysis of the present crisis is given in the February issue of *International Conciliation* (No. 387). Although called "Preliminary Recommendation on Postwar Problems," this report presents an excellent study, brief and pointed, of the varied factors which brought the crisis about. The formulation was made by The Inter-American Juridical Committee at the request of the Third Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, at Rio de Janeiro in January of 1942. It has been submitted to the governments of those republics by the Pan American Union. The recommendation includes an itemized statement of the fundamental requirements for a lasting peace. To anyone concerned about current international affairs this document is of great value.

Considerable attention is being paid to Ely Cul-

bertson's plan for world federation. He proposes that eleven regional federations be established under a World Government. This should be initiated by leading members of The United Nations. Probably the most important contribution in his plan is his ingenious and practical quota system for the use and control of national military power to guarantee peace.

Mr. Culbertson described his proposal in the February issue of *The Reader's Digest* ("A System to Win This War—and the Peace to Come"). Eunice Clark gave a critical description of it in *Common Sense* for February ("The Culbertson Plan"). His own sixty-four page summary may be secured for twenty-five cents from World Federation, Inc., 16-A East 62nd Street, New York City.

POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION

Raymond Leslie Buell, distinguished student of international relations, took stock, in *Fortune* for February, of the principal plans that have been proposed for postwar political reconstruction ("Draftsmen of the New World"). He pointed out that repeated samplings of American public opinion reveal that a majority of our people favor some sort of union of nations, after the war; and they favor our membership in it. From press, radio, and public forum there issues a continuous stream of favorable expression.

How, concretely and specifically, to implement this desire is still in doubt, although various bodies are seeking a formula. Clarence Streit, Ely Culbertson, and other individuals also have come forward with plans. But as yet no one postwar program seems to be acceptable, as was the League of Nations during World War I.

The State Department's Division of Special Research is collecting data and formulating proposals which deal with the many phases of the postwar world. Other committees have been formed, as a result, to study particular aspects of the problem.

In general, there are three alternatives which receive serious consideration: "(1) a new form of world league, (2) world or regional federations, (3) an independent U. S. policy." Each alternative has prominent proponents. Dr. Buell summarized their views and indicated the pros and cons of each alternative.

Except for the extreme isolationists, supporters of the various alternatives agree "that after this war some kind of universal association of nations will be

essential to transact the day-by-day business of the world." The era of unlimited national sovereignty is apparently over. There is wide agreement also that regional groupings should be set up within the global framework. It is in these regional groupings that the curbs on national sovereignty would be supplied. Many agree, too, that for a long time to come global peace must be maintained by the victorious states; the burden falling primarily upon America, Britain, and Russia. The United Nations, therefore, should now "forge the closest ties" in order to prevent the forces of separation, held in check by the exigencies of war, from driving them apart when hostilities cease.

In any event, no postwar program will succeed if it does not have the active support of the United States. We are in a position of leadership from which we must not abdicate. That would be a stupendous moral crime. We are leaders in the cause of the common man, in the cause of liberty and democratic freedom for all human beings. The revolution for freedom and equality is no longer a Western revolution. It has become global, encompassing mankind, and the call is to us, in the larger sphere, as once it was to our founding fathers in a narrower sphere.

WARTIME ACTIVITIES IN SCHOOLS

Those interested in "Typical Wartime Activities of Secondary Schools" will want to see the report on the matter which is made the leading feature of *The School Executive* for January. Schools all over the country are listed and their activities briefly summarized. The material is organized around: (1) "Training for the Armed Services and War Industries," (2) "Producing Goods and Services for the War Efforts," and (3) "Developing Understanding, Devotion, and Social Effectiveness in Democratic Living and Spreading the Concepts of World Citizenship Basic to a Just and Lasting Peace."

In the issue of *High Points* for the same month are several items which supplement fruitfully this report in *The School Executive*. Murray Eisenstadt of the Midwood High School discussed ways for teaching our youth the meaning of total war ("Total War in the Schools"). He submitted ten guiding principles essential to any wartime program in the schools. These principles apply to all phases of school activity. Of especial interest to teachers of the social studies are his brief remarks upon the teacher's tasks (1) of building up a "psychological front" by making each student feel that this is his war and (2) of bolstering the "cultural front," of our democratic way.

S. J. Bernhard of the same school, listed "Films for War Curricula." The list is so long that it will be printed in several issues. The first installment

presented seven pages of films dealing with the principal branches of the "Armed Forces of the U. S." and with aviation. Included were thirty-five films illustrative of American democracy. On pages 46-48 of this issue were given brief descriptions of new publications of the United States Office of Education on the subject of "Materials and Suggestions for War Time Teaching."

Shortly before Christmas a conference was held at Teachers College, Columbia University, to consider "Education in a World at War." Using this title as the theme of its January issue, the *Teachers College Record* presented a synthesis of the addresses and discussions. Suggestions were included to aid schools in their wartime programs. In conclusion, a committee made a report for general use by schools: "Guides for Action Emerging from the Conference." This report, and the entire issue, belong to that growing body of excellent material now available to schools in these war days.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES

A very succinct statement of "Our Rights and Obligations as Free Citizens in Our Democracy" has been made by the Michigan Study of the Secondary School Curriculum. It is reprinted on page 98 of the January issue of *Frontiers of Democracy*.

It is always illuminating for young students to track down the abuses and the historical events which led to our familiar, traditional rights, especially since the search takes them from colonial America to Britain's history and invites comparisons with the French Declaration of the Rights of Man.

Parallel to this list of rights and obligations, in *Frontiers of Democracy*, is printed the list of rights formulated early last year by the National Resources Planning Board. The young student, surprised by the tremendous shift in emphasis in the Board's list as compared with our traditional Bill of Rights, may be challenged to find how events and conditions since 1787 have conspired to bring that shift about. The question, "What are the abuses of our age?" takes on practical meaning and gives an air of reality to the earlier struggles.

In *Frontiers of Democracy*, between these two lists of rights—1787 and 1942—there is a list of our obligations as free men who desire to preserve and earn these rights. It is rare to find obligations enumerated. This list, in juxtaposition to that of rights, shares in the importance usually attributed to rights. And are we not becoming very sensitive to the need for impressing all citizens with the importance of obligations, without which rights cannot flourish?

BEVERIDGE PLAN

Miss M. Craig McGeachy of the British Embassy in Washington contributed a good review of "The

Beveridge Plan" to the January number of *Survey Graphic*. She pointed out that the report of Sir William Beveridge was a natural outgrowth of the social security developments in Great Britain since World War I. The Beveridge Committee drew upon the experience of social workers, religious and educational bodies, professional organizations, trade unions, industrialists, women's societies, the civil service, and many individuals. Its report is a people's report, therefore.

It attempts to reconcile planning with individual freedom, both of which are essential for building a better world. Our technological progress has made planning a necessity. How use it without injuring democratic cooperation? In the use of the contributory principle the Beveridge Report finds a means for reconciliation. It plans, too, for voluntary bodies as well as for those to be set up by government. "Many a device has been tried out first in the seed bed of a voluntary agency, to be transferred later to the garden plot of official organization. . . ."

Miss McGeachy was concerned mainly with the underlying philosophy of the report and with its historical basis in British experience. A full page summary of its main provisions, however, is included in the article. The summary shows clearly what are regarded as the essentials "For a Minimum Standard of Social Security in Britain."

A dispassionate and lucid assessment of the Beveridge Report was made in *Harper's Magazine* for March, by C. Martley Grattan, a competent student of affairs ("Beveridge Plans Are Not Enough"). Mr. Grattan warns us that we must not attribute to the Beveridge Report purposes which it distinctly eschews.

It is not a new plan. New Zealand, since 1938, has been operating a unified Social Security Act which is like the Beveridge plan in many ways. Nor is it a plan for the destruction of poverty. It does propose to eliminate stark want. It would provide the essentials of subsistence in food, shelter, clothing, and health. But these essentials will not eliminate poverty. The plan will not encourage idleness by depriving people of the incentive to work. Its benefits are only enough to guard against the dire want that is a threat to life itself. Ignorance, squalor, disease, and idleness will still be problems.

The difficulties that Sir William proposes to meet, at the level of subsistence, by insurance of free grants, are: unemployment, disability, loss of livelihood, retirement from occupation, the various marriage needs of a woman, funeral expenses, expenses of child care, and physical disease or incapacity. The costs would be met largely by the regular, fixed contributions made by the people themselves, supplemented by employers and government subsidies.

The Beveridge plan is designed to be only one part of an attack upon the great evils of want, disease, ignorance, squalor, and idleness. As Mr. Grattan remarks, it is the first detailed, concrete plan to implement the sixth section of the Atlantic Charter: freedom from want. The other freedoms are still in need of similar, concrete implementation, before we shall have attained a peaceful, prosperous world. All these matters Sir William himself makes clear in his report. Mr. Grattan's calm appraisal is refreshing.

GENERAL EDUCATION

Last year the Commission on Curricula of Colleges and Secondary Schools published an important volume on *General Education in the American High School* (Scott, Foresman, and Company, 1942). It supplied the theme for some very pertinent discussions of general education before the Commission, about a year ago. Five of the papers were printed in the concluding twenty-five pages of the *North Central Association Quarterly* for January, 1943.

It appears that, under the name of general education, a revolution is taking place in the secondary school; or at least a trend in progress for several decades is being speeded up because so many educators now recognize it, believe in it, and think it should be accepted and furthered.

From the symposium in the *Quarterly* a few outstanding statements can here be summarized. They do shed light on a movement in which secondary school teachers are vitally concerned. General education, as now viewed, is education for all and not only for the few who may enter higher institutions. It is concerned with total personality and not only with intellect: ". . . general education programs must be defined in terms of what the learner is or does rather than in terms of course content or a body of knowledge." And it is concerned with the individual's non-specialized activities, for it seeks to prepare him for efficient living, be his vocation what it may. But training for vocation is not belittled or neglected.

General education is essential because everybody needs it. Our present secondary education too often is a luxury because only a few need it. Altogether 65 per cent of our youth do not finish high school; another 30 per cent do not finish college. If all but 5 per cent of our youth do not graduate from college and they attended a high school whose curriculum was dominated by college preparation, their secondary education was luxury rather than essential education.

Secondary education is by no means universal as yet. It still is selective, keeping the more intelligent and weeding out the rest. Among the more recent studies is one made in Maryland which "indicates

that a child with an I.Q. of 110 has three times the chance of finishing high school which one with an I.Q. of 90 has."

It is also selective on an economic basis. People have looked upon a high school education as preparation for a white-collar job, although many whom the school trains for such jobs will never have them. Children from the families of the poor attend high school in smaller proportion than children from well-to-do families. Studies show "that children in the highest economic brackets continued beyond the eighth grade eleven times as frequently as children from the lowest economic group." Of the poor, only one-tenth of those who enter high school, graduate; but of the well-to-do, eight-tenths who enter, graduate. No small factor is the financial burden upon the pupil which too often discourages the poor student who lacks the means to be "in the swim." In our "free" schools money for A.A. tickets, for plays, books, pencils, musical instruments, etc., counts up to many dollars per year. Dollars which the poor lack, create in them a feeling of discouragement about continuing school.

Secondary education is selective in other ways. The urban child finds it easier to go to high school than does his rural cousin. Upwards of three-fourths of city youth go to high school, but only one-third of rural youth do so. Yet the farm boy and girl, in millions of cases, later become members of urban communities. Much rural education, in many states, is still so meager as to form a troublesome problem today.

These few observations outline some phases of the problem and the trend. What various schools are doing, what they can do, what services secondary education can and does render the community, and other aspects of the question were discussed in the five articles which comprised the symposium.

CHINA

The Journal of the National Education Association for February carried the official account of the current struggle in China recently prepared by the Office of War Information. It reviewed with care the background of the fight for liberty and democracy there, since the days of the 1911 revolution. The principles, the purposes, and the work of Dr. Sun Yat-sen were described to show how he gave direction to the course of the revolution. The rise of Chiang Kai-shek, the internal strife with which he has had to contend, the war with Japan, and the great transformations in China under his leadership were woven together to give a picture of the new China that is arising.

This article on "Heroic China" is adorned with several illustrations, including a very striking photograph of Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

CALENDAR REFORM

January 1, 1945, is a practicable date for inaugurating world-wide calendar reform. The matter continues to attract attention. Fourteen nations already have approved the World Calendar. In *The Scientific Monthly* for February, Dr. W. E. Castle of the University of California described "Calendars and Calendar Reform." He considered the World Calendar as, on the whole, the most satisfactory, and devoted more attention to it than to others. He pointed out both its advantages and its weaknesses and expressed the opinion that only inertia is holding back its introduction. Even the churches, now, are favorable. Young people will enjoy this article.

FOR TEACHER AND CLASSROOM

Following its practice of other years, to which reference has been made here, *The School Review* in its February issue lists publications dealing with secondary school subjects. This bibliography includes only such selected books, articles, pamphlets, reports, and other publications as have appeared since the last list was printed about a year ago. In the "Selected References on Secondary-School Instruction," in the section on social studies, Professor Robert E. Keohane of the University of Chicago names nearly forty items. He purposely omits all articles in the two journals, *THE SOCIAL STUDIES* and *Social Education* as is the usual custom because of the prominence of these magazines.

Vera M. Dean performs a useful service in the February 1 issue of *Foreign Policy Reports* by describing the pros and cons of the question, "What Future for Germany?" The problem, of course, is as important as it is troublesome and disconcerting. To a large extent Mrs. Dean plays the part of a reporter and not that of a judge. She brings together the views of leaders and thinkers who are concerning themselves with such practical problems as the disposition of the Nazi leaders and their active followers, military occupation of Nazi lands, administrative problems, what to do with the German people and the German states, territorial problems, and the nature of the final peace with Germany.

A highly instructive group of ten pictures illustrating "Soil Conservation" is given on page 40 of the February issue of *The Journal* of the National Education Association. An explanation of each of the pictures accompanies the set. Facing it is a brief statement by Vernon G. Carter, Director of Conservation Education in the Zanesville (Ohio) schools, giving practical hints of ways in which children and youth can help in conservation ("Education, Resources, and This War"). These ways, if practiced, will make young people conscious of the conservation problem which has become a permanent one in this country.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

Edited by RICHARD H. McFEELY

The George School, George School, Pennsylvania

The Nazi State. By William Ebenstein. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1942. Pp. xi, 355. \$2.00.

Since the return of the American newspaper men after the outbreak of the war between the United States and Germany we have had a flood of publications about life inside nazi Germany. Some of them were valuable contributions. Not one of these books, however, gave a comprehensive understanding of the structure and the moving forces of the present political, economic, and cultural set up in Germany. It is just this that this book tries to achieve, and it does it, on the whole, very successfully. I do not remember a book on the nazi state that equals that of Ebenstein's in presenting a vast quantity of material and making it understandable to readers who may not have enough background for studying the intricacies of present day Germany. Sometimes the author is inclined to use a kind of language that may create some doubt as to whether after all his temperament is not stronger than his scholarly objectivity. Closer scrutiny, however, shows that even his caustic and satirical remarks are well based on facts.

The book starts by pointing out the deep contradiction in the nazi doctrine. On the one hand the German people is the master race destined and capable of ruling the whole world. On the other hand this race of supermen is unable, according to its own spokesmen, to rule itself. This basic confusion in Hitlerism was always disguised by its boundless brutality, the real source of Hitler's "successes." Ebenstein goes through all the theories, if this term is permitted, and practices of nazism. He shows what is most difficult to understand for Americans, that total dictatorship means total control of all human activities. There is not the slightest loophole left for personal freedom. The famous leisure time organization "Strength through Joy," for instance, which has deceived so many people of good will never was anything else than a gigantic enterprise to bring all recreation under complete state control, too. The chapter on the church struggle is of special importance because it reduces the partial opposition of the churches to its proper proportion. Ebenstein knows about the tremendous responsibility which most of the German clergymen (Protestant, Lutherans, Reformed, Evangelical, etc.), have for the destruction of Germany's democracy and the rise of Hitlerism.

I regret that Ebenstein sometimes seems to come close to those theories which see in Hitler the outgrowth of special attitudes of the German people.

The fact stands that Germany was not the first country to produce a totalitarian dictatorship and is certainly not the only one. A world problem cannot be explained satisfactorily through the attempt to find its roots in one nation, however great its individual responsibility may be.

F. W. SOLLMANN

Pendle Hill, Pennsylvania

The Principles of Power. By Guglielmo Ferrero. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942. Pp. ix, 333. \$3.50.

Professor Ferrero's book gives the reader a better understanding of the foundations and motivating forces of government during the last few centuries and the various revolutionary factors involved in the outbreak of the Second World War. The thesis with which this book is concerned may be summed up as follows:

The cause of the frightful disorder to which Europe has succumbed is not the disturbance of international relations among the various states of which it is composed. That disturbance is itself the result of something far more profound—the international crises that completely upset nearly all the Old World states. The war now devastating the world is the result of the revolutions that, since 1917, have convulsed practically the whole of the European continent.

What do all these revolutions mean? Where did they come from? Where are they heading? The answer to these questions, which Professor Ferrero has discovered after a great deal of thought and research, is a political one. He states:

From the Middle Ages to 1914, Europe was governed by the great dynasties. Monarchy was the only political system in almost the whole of Europe—except for a few states unaware of their privileged position, England, France, Belgium, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries—that ensured an organized government. Gradually weakened by the developments in Western civilization after the French Revolution, the monarchic system was completely overthrown at the end of the First World War. All the European peoples, except for the small minority of privileged states, suddenly found themselves without the governments by which they had been guided for centuries; they were obliged to try to govern themselves, and they

proclaimed republics. Then, all over Europe the same tragedy took place that had ravaged France at the end of the eighteenth century, when for the first time, the monarchy having collapsed, the French people attempted to found a republic. In almost all of Europe after 1919, as in France after 1789, the difficulty of organizing a republic in a country saturated with monarchic traditions led to all sorts of chaos, which resulted in the creation of revolutionary governments. It was these revolutionary governments that finally unleashed a general war, for the same reasons and in exactly the same manner as the French Revolution. We are witnessing the repetition of Napoleon's adventure on a world-wide scale—Napoleon's adventure translated into German.

In the development of his thesis, the author speaks of legitimate and illegitimate governments. He defines a legitimate government as a government in which the power is established and exercised according to rules long predetermined, recognized and accepted by everyone, interpreted and applied without vacillation or hesitancy but with unanimous agreement, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the laws, re-enforced by traditions. England and Switzerland have legitimate governments. Illegitimate government is the antithesis of legitimate government: a government in which the power is bestowed and exercised according to principles and rules imposed by force over too short a period of time and not accepted by a large majority. According to Ferrero's definition, Germany and Italy have illegitimate governments. When a government is illegitimate, the fear that is latent becomes open and in the end destroys the government.

Ferrero by comparing the French Revolution with existing revolutions demonstrates why the revolutionary governments that have been multiplying in Europe for the past twenty years were fated to end up in a general war; and why peace can only be established and maintained in Europe with the help of legitimate governments. Ferrero believes that this truth will be able to save the world.

FRANCIS JAMES CARBON

Sharon, Pennsylvania

War Without Inflation: The Psychological Approach to Problems of War Economy. By George Katona. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. x, 213. \$2.50.

This book deals with the problems of inflation confronting the people of the United States during the Second World War from the viewpoint of the psychologist. The first chapter shows how inflation arises. It attempts to show that inflation is not the

"automatic effect of economic factors." Psychological expectations play an equally important part. The author then tries to show how these expectations arise. The next two chapters deal with price fixing, rationing, and the psychological preparation of price fixing. A plea is made for an intelligent approach to rationing and price fixing. This approach is based on the assumption that the public will respond more favorably to these measures if they are explained and made understandable. A mere statement, often repeated, to the effect that these measures will hold down prices, coupled with threats to punish hoarders and other undesirable responses, will not suffice to ward off inflation.

In the fourth chapter, the point is made that before these measures are introduced much can be done to combat inflation by a sound understanding of how the public views the problem of inflation as a whole. With this in mind, an appropriate publicity campaign both private and governmental can be initiated aiming at explaining the situation as it is, and showing how views building up inflationary expectations are wrong. It should also demonstrate what voluntary measures the public can undertake, for example, the purchase of War Bonds, which could help to make government regulation unnecessary. In this chapter the author points out again that inflation is not necessarily inevitable in times of war, and that consumers supplies are adequate, provided demand is kept at pre-war levels. Both these points arise naturally out of the discussion as to how the ordinary public views problems of inflation.

Chapters five and six deal with the question of how to keep demand down through financial measures such as taxation and savings. Six criteria of wartime taxation are laid down. The application of these criteria will make taxation an added weapon in the battle against inflation. They represent an ideal toward which we are striving in practice, but we still have a long way to go. The question of how best to encourage saving is gone into at some length. It is suggested that as many different types of appeals to save as possible be made. The purchase of War Bonds, for instance, should not merely be encouraged on patriotic grounds alone, but on egotistical ones as well. Thus a wider section of the public is reached. Finally, it is suggested that saving take as many different forms as possible. The installment purchase of goods for post war delivery is cited as an example. Here again the psychological aspect of inflation is brought out by the idea that the campaigns for new forms of saving should begin at a time when the outburst of a buying wave is expected, as just before Christmas 1942.

In closing, the author discusses the connection between government publicity and the fight against in-

flation. He also brings out the connection between the latter and the problems of the post war period. The section headed, "Pretesting Future Responses" contains some interesting suggestions as to how the government might secure information in advance as to probable public reaction to contemplated anti-inflationary measures.

This reviewer cannot help wishing that *War Without Inflation* will be carefully studied by those directing the fight against inflation in Washington. There has been far too great a concentration by the government on the restrictive economic aspects of the struggle. The psychological aspect has been mishandled in most cases. For example, a speech by some official the day after shoe rationing was introduced, to the effect that the yearly shoe quota set by the rationing authorities would probably have to be reduced, is a minor case in point. On reading about this, the reviewer's first reaction was "buy a pair of shoes at once though he did not need them. Many others must have reacted in the same way.

The only criticism about the book is that the author seems somewhat optimistic as to the result of the struggle. This criticism can only be proved by the passing of time. The program laid down is a good one, and *War Without Inflation* certainly deserves a wide public.

WILFRED T. GRENFELL

Saint Mark's School
Southboro, Massachusetts

As The Twig Is Bent. By Richard Welling. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942. Pp. ix, 295. Illustrated. \$3.00.

In this interesting book, the reader is introduced, by many intimate glimpses and personal stories, to a man who has devoted the greater part of his life to the fight for democracy. It is an informal autobiography of Richard Welling, in which he tells of his life and growth toward a fuller understanding of the democratic way of life. Civil Service reform, ballot reform, home rule, good government, self-government in the schools—these have been his chief civic interests.

His long and fruitful life has been filled with interesting experiences. He fought as an ensign in the Spanish-American war, and commanded the naval base at Montauk during World War I, and it is reasonable to suppose that it is only his age—he is now eighty-four—that keeps him from some similar service in World War II. He has been interested in improving and cleaning up government, local and national, ever since his graduation from Harvard sixty-two years ago. In his work for better government, he has been affiliated with many organizations such as the (New York) City Reform Club, the

Good Government Clubs, and the National Municipal League. He served as Civil Service Commissioner for New York City, and was for a time the President of the Civil Service Reform Association as well as many other organizations. His work as a practicing lawyer for over five decades has given him an invaluable insight into the problems he has sought to clear up.

From the point of view of his contribution to education, his most important act was to found the National Self-Government Committee—now about forty years old. The purpose of this organization was to give young people a chance to understand democracy by governing themselves in school and in their own organizations. Though the activity of this Committee has not been unopposed, it has continued to grow in membership and value through the decades since its beginning.

This autobiography contains many interesting and intimate anecdotes about some of the people—Theodore Roosevelt, John Dewey and others—with whom Richard Welling has come in contact along life's way.

For teachers of American history, this book has much by way of human interest stories with which to enrich the study of the last sixty years of American history. For teachers of civics and problems of democracy, there are many interesting discussions and illustrative anecdotes about politics and problems of government which would be interesting in class projects and discussions.

RICHARD L. McFEELY

George School, Pennsylvania

Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Oterman's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682. By Charles Wilson Hackett. Two Volumes. Coronado Historical Series, Vols. VIII and IX. Edited by George P. Hammond. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1942. Pp. ccx, 262; xii, 430. \$10.00.

These two new volumes in the Coronado Historical Series provide valuable additions to an important and ambitious undertaking designed to make available the documentary evidence on early American history of the Southwest. In this presentation the author discusses the historical significance of the revolt of the Pueblo tribes, an upheaval which all but destroyed the power of the Spanish in New Mexico at the end of the seventeenth century and which has had an important effect on the subsequent course of American history in this region. Had this revolt not occurred it cannot be doubted that growing Spanish power would have eventually destroyed the indigenous cultures of these sedentary tribes with the result that Spanish institutions and population would have

become much more dominant and firmly rooted throughout this region. What difference this would have made in subsequent historical events of course is problematical but we can be sure that the later conflict of Mexican and American interests in this area would have been somewhat altered.

The social and ethnic consequences of this revolt are no less interesting for today we still find many of the Indian tribes which so energetically asserted themselves to maintain their identity almost three centuries ago, still vigorous, cultural and linguistic entities, relatively little changed by their long contact with European civilization. Such persistence and strength in aboriginal institutions in the face of four centuries of both organized and insidious European pressure presents a phenomenon of prime interest to students of human society.

D. S. DAVIDSON

University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

TEXTBOOKS AND OTHER TEACHING AIDS

The Rise of Our Free Nation. By Edna McGuire and Thomas B. Portwood. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942. Pp. x, 774. Illustrated. \$1.88.

The study of American history has suddenly taken on new life. The Army and Navy in settling on an educational program have made the story of our rise a *must* course. This sudden desire to bring the facts of the past before the youth of the nation demands that these facts be presented clearly and honestly. This book achieves this objective.

The authors of this new text have developed a good size book of which a large portion is taken up with illustrations. The reviewer feels that illustrations are excellent for stimulating thought, but at times they are overdone. This text is geared for high school pupils and these youngsters need no such vivid illustrations to show them their places in the American way of life.

Under the heading, "Reading to Learn," the authors at the end of each "division" submit a short bibliography. Most of the books included would fit the reading pleasure of boys and girls in their early teens, but for older students they would leave little incentive, for outside reading. (e.g. Ida Tarbell, *Boy Scout's Life of Lincoln*).

It would be quite unfair to leave the impression that these points, which appear to this reviewer as shortcomings, leave nothing good to say for this text. The style is free flowing and makes for easy reading. The authors have included some fine maps, which are so necessary in this ever-changing world. The inclusion of an annotated Constitution of the United

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JAMES J. FLYNN

Bishop Loughlin Memorial High School
Brooklyn, New York

Geography and Society. By James Franklin Chamberlain. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1942. Pp. xi, 675. Illustrated. \$1.96.

Having written the review for the 1938 edition of this book, it was with a great deal of sympathy and understanding that the reviewer carefully examined this revision of a good book. As a teacher of the subject he realizes how difficult are the problems that a teacher faces when he prepares a lesson on modern geography today. These difficulties are multiplied many times by a writer who knows that months must elapse before his book reaches its market.

The book has been carefully revised to make it completely up to date, meaning of course, to date of publication. New charts, tables, and statistics are included throughout, and the text matter has been rewritten wherever necessary to incorporate the important changes brought about by the present World War.

The viewpoint is excellent. Part One gives the stu-

dent the necessary background of humanized physical geography. Part Two takes up the world's major industries and emphasizes the importance of the world's commerce. Part Three treats the political geography of the world according to key countries, devoting special attention to the geography of the United States.

The book is well illustrated and what is most important is that these illustrations blend into the text of the book. They are not inserted to occupy meaningless space but can actually be used by the teacher for purposes of clarification of various geographical items. A novel and interesting pictorial section—China At War—has been added.

A good geography book is still a necessity and this one fills the bill. But the day has passed when one can teach only with a geography book. The additional use of the daily newspaper, the picture magazines, the radio, and motion pictures are needed to give a complete understanding of the subject.

HAROLD GLUCK

Taft High School
Bronx, New York

The Growth of the American Republic. Vol. I (1000-1865). Vol. II (1865-1942). By Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager. New York: Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. xvi, 825, xiv, 785. Illustrated. \$3.50 each.

In American education, the textbook has played an extremely important part in classroom instruction, and, although the trend today is toward the introduction of other materials and experiences either in the place of the textbook or to supplement it, the vicarious experiences which come through the printed page loom large in most instructional procedures. The choice of suitable and adequate textbooks is, then, an important function of the teacher, the supervisor, or others who may have this responsibility.

Basic questions in the intelligent selection of textbooks and collateral reading material for a specific course or given group of pupils include such as these: "Who are the authors and how competent are they to write accurately and authoritatively on the subject?" "Who are the publishers?" "Does the content of the book cover adequately the topic or topics it is supposed to?" "Is the presentation suitable for the group under consideration?" "What sort of teaching aids are incorporated in the text?" "Does the format of the book lend to its attractiveness and usefulness?"

It is with such questions in mind that the reviewer has appraised the new, enlarged, and more comprehensive edition of *The Growth of the American Republic*, Volumes I and II, by Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager.

The authors brought forth the first edition of this work in 1930 as a single volume, starting the account in 1763 and terminating it in 1917. In 1936, the second edition was published, in two volumes, enlarged to include more of the story from the Civil War down to the second inauguration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. In this, the third edition, the story is pushed back to begin with the origin of man in America, and carried up to the entry of America into the Second World War, and is now incorporated in two well-bound volumes, a factor of some importance in a book that is primarily intended for school or college use.

The authors are well-known men in the field of American history and education. Both are teachers, authors, and historians. Samuel Eliot Morison, professor of American history, Harvard University, and author of the recently-published life of Columbus, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, has been selected by the United States government to write the official history of the Navy in the Second World War. Henry Steele Commager, professor of history, Columbia University, is the author of several widely used books: *Documents of American History*, *Heritage of America*, and others. Both men are noted for the accuracy and authenticity of their research and writings, and these two volumes add to their reputation for high standards of scholarship. Their free, easy style makes their work easy to comprehend, and attractive to the student and other readers. Most of the chapters are short, and deal with the events of a short period of time, a feature which adds much to its usefulness especially in secondary schools.

Volume I covers the period from 1000 to 1865. The first two chapters are devoted to the events from 1000 to 1600. The rest of this volume, some thirty-five more chapters, is given to the developments from 1600 to 1865. The treatment is primarily chronological although some chapters deal rather specifically with some political, social, or economic issue characteristic of the times, leaving to preceding or succeeding chapters the fuller development of the period under discussion. For example, Chapter XIII is devoted to the origins, development, and final draft of the federal Constitution, leaving to Chapters XII and XIV the fuller description of the country during the years just preceding, during, and those succeeding 1787.

Volume II covers the shorter period from 1865 to 1942. It is more topical in its general approach than is Volume I. More frequently the chapters are devoted to specific developments such as, *Transportation, 1865-1900*; *Labor, 1865-1933*; *Immigration, 1865-1936*; *Agriculture and the Farm Problem, 1865-1920*; and *Arts, Philosophy, and Letters, 1865-1920*.

Each of the twenty-six chapters in this volume makes, in a clear, analytical way, a contribution to the important story of the growth and development of our country during these decades, interweaving the political, social, and economic threads in an expert manner.

The reviewer found especially interesting the analysis and interpretation of the New Deal. The authors were able to do this with a sympathetic objectivity, seeing in it the reasons for its being and the things attempted and accomplished, yet retaining a critical attitude toward its limitations and failures. The success with which they do this is a strong testimony to their intellectual integrity and scholarship.

The authors have an unusual knack for portraying the essential qualities of character possessed by the main actors in this long drama. The thumb-nail sketches are skillfully drawn.

For the teacher who looks for questions at the end of the chapter to help his pupils in appraising how much they have secured from the chapter or to test their ability for relational thinking about the material, the book is somewhat limited. There are none. Such questions are especially helpful at the secondary level because the pupil's power for self-evaluation is usually more limited than at the college level. This would hardly constitute a serious criticism of the books, however.

Both volumes are rich with many maps, large, well-drawn, vividly graphic. Each volume is carefully and thoroughly indexed, and although there is little, if any, cross-referencing in the body of the text itself, the care with which the index has been prepared offsets this.

Extensive bibliographies, selected to give an overview of the topic or period, as well as specific suggestions to supplement each chapter add immeasurably to the value of these books for school and college use.

The Appendix contains the full text of the Constitution of the United States and some statistical tables which, in addition to those commonly found in American history books, i.e., Admission of States to the Union, Presidents of the United States and dates of their Administrations, include others of great value such as, Table of Population of the United States, 1770-1940; Immigration Quotas, 1930; United States Government Receipts and Expenditures, 1787-1941.

These two volumes should make an excellent basic textbook for a course in American history in college. For the more able student at the upper, secondary school level, they are also quite suitable either as a basic text, or, perhaps more effectively, as supplementary materials in a course in either American history or in problems of American democracy. For the

younger students in high schools much of the vocabulary would prove rather difficult.

RICHARD H. McFEELY

George School, Pennsylvania

PERTINENT PAMPHLETS

Youth and Jobs. By Douglas S. Ward and Edith M. Selberg. New York: Ginn and Company, 1942. Pp. viii, 102. Illustrated. 60 cents.

Another addition to the Unit Studies in American Problems compiled for the Committee on Experimental Units of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Authentic, up to date, interesting materials. Helpful teaching aids. Good bibliographies. Very useful to teachers in junior and senior high schools in both social studies and guidance courses.

China's Gifts to the West. By Derk Bodde. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942. Pp. v, 40. 35 cents.

This is the first of the Asiatic Studies in American Education and was prepared for the Committee on Asiatic Studies in American Education of the American Council on Education. It brings together authoritative material on China's contributions to western civilization. Interesting, readable, useful.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The War: Third Year. By Edgar McInnis. New York: Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. xvii, 347. \$2.00.

In this volume, Professor McInnis completes the third year of his periodical history of the war. He weaves the events of the past year into a consistent and understandable pattern in a skillful, intelligent manner.

Medieval Europe. By Jeremiah O'Sullivan and John F. Burns. New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1943. Pp. xi, 770. \$4.00.

This text has grown out of the need the authors have felt, after years of teaching, for a clear, simply written outline of factors and events in the medieval period that have in a great measure determined our present way of life.

Plans for World Peace Through Six Centuries. By Sylvester John Hemleben. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943. Pp. xiv, 227. \$2.50.

The purpose of this study is to trace the historical background and development of the idea of an organization to secure permanent peace. Contains an excellent bibliography of books and pamphlets on the topic. Carefully indexed.

American Government. By John McMahon. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943. Pp. ix, 191. \$1.50.

An outline of American Government, one of the Student Manuals prepared under the auspices of the Commission on American Citizenship of the Catholic University of America.

Labor's Voice in the Cabinet. By John Lombardi. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. 370. \$4.00.

A careful, thorough history of the Department of Labor from its origin to 1921.

The Other Side of Main Street. By Henry Johnson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. viii, 263. \$2.75.

A "bit of autobiography" by a well-known, deeply respected history teacher, now professor emeritus of history, Teachers College, Columbia University.

The Thousand-Year Conspiracy. By Paul Winkler. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943. Pp. x, 381. \$2.75.

The author sets forth the thesis that the Nazi movement should not be regarded simply as the product of Hitler's evil genius but rather that the roots of the movement go back a thousand years in German history. Interesting.

The Impact of Federal Taxes. By Roswell Magill. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. ix, 218. \$3.00.

This book, written by a former Under Secretary of the Treasury, examines the tenets on which a tax system should be based, and some of the principal effects of the major federal imposts. Timely.

The Anglo-American Trade Agreement. By Carl Kreider. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1943. Pp. xv, 270. \$3.50.

A study of the most important trade agreement concluded by the United States and the United Kingdom. It offers a careful analysis of the Anglo-American trade agreement in the recent (1934-1939) commercial policies of these two nations.

Bills of Rights in American History. By Leila Roberta Custard. Los Angeles: Southern California Press, 1942. Pp. 48. 50 cents.

A monograph with a twofold purpose: "to discover the origin and trace the evolution of the bill of rights as an important part of Anglo-Saxon institutions, and to determine to what extent American bills of rights record the development of American democracy and democratic ideals." Excellent material for American history classes.

Industrial Concentration and Price Inflexibility. By Alfred C. Neal. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943. Pp. x, 173. \$3.25.

A searching and critical study of the effect of concentrated industrial power upon price behavior and pricing.

America Speaking. By Olga Perschbacher and Dorothy Wilde. New York: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1943. Pp. ix, 469.

An anthology of writing by American authors of the past and present voicing a message of freedom and equality and pointing to the essentials of the American way of life.

National Consciousness. By Walter Sulzbach. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943. Pp. x, 168. Paper Edition: \$2.50. Cloth edition: \$3.00.

A helpful and hopeful book setting forth the point of view that nationalism is not innate nor instinctive in man but rather the product of "education and agitation" and, therefore, the harmful effects of nationalism need not exist forever.

Technology and the Economics of Total War. By Lyman Chalkley. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943. Pp. 24. 25 cents.

An interesting monograph by the Head Economic Analyst in the Industrial Engineering Division of the Board of Economic Warfare dealing with the important problem of utilizing technological advances most advantageously in a period of total war.

By Caribbean Shores. By Sydney Greenbie. New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1942. Pp. 84. Illustrated. 56 cents.

The author continues, in this addition to his Good Neighbor Series, to present an accurate picture of our neighbors to the south, in this case Panama, Colombia, Venezuela. This book, like its predecessors, adds greatly to the growing amount of material on Latin America. Beautifully illustrated.

Your Country and Mine. By Grace A. Turkington and Phil Conley. New York: Ginn and Company, 1943. Pp. x, 630. Illustrated. \$1.60.

A new textbook designed to aid in the teaching of citizenship and an understanding of the growth of democracy in this country. Useful at the secondary school level. It is well-illustrated, carefully indexed, and contains an excellent bibliography, as well as many helpful teaching aids.

The Social Studies

Volume XXXIV, Number 5

Continuing *The Historical Outlook*

May, 1943

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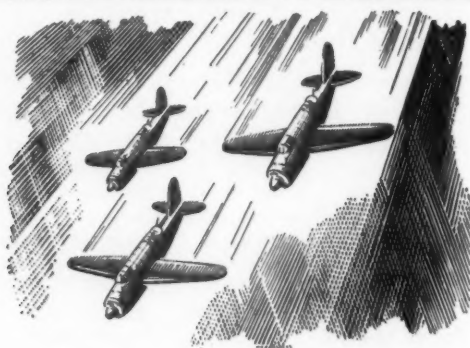
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EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 809-811 North 19th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Subscription \$2.00 a year, single numbers 30 cents a copy.

Published monthly, from October to May inclusive, by McKinley Publishing Co., 809-811 North 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Copyright, 1943, McKinley Publishing Co. Entered as second-class matter, October 26, 1909, at Post Office at Philadelphia, Pa., under Act of March 3, 1879.

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